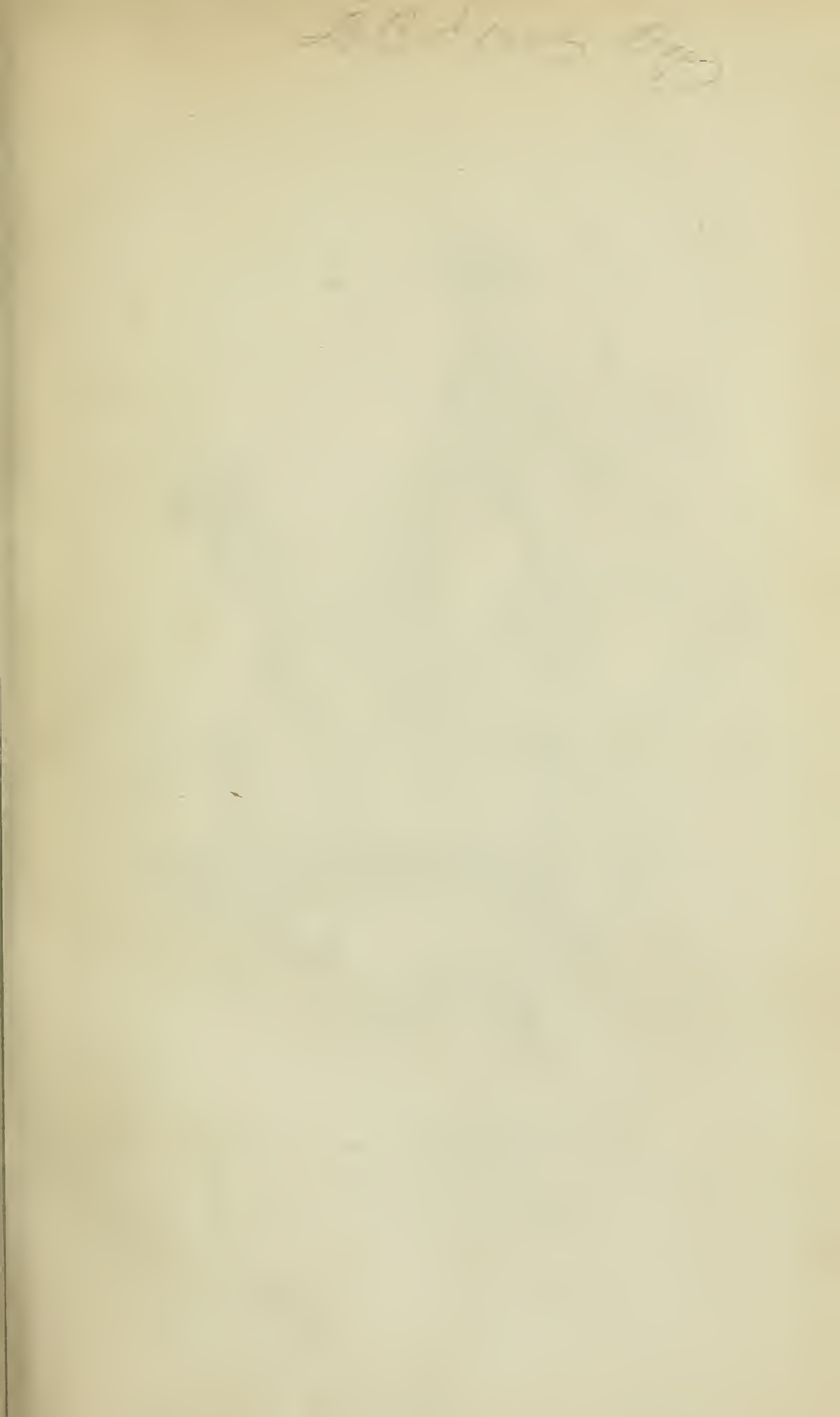


Alfred B. Street
1844





BLUCHER.

HISTORY

OF

NAPOLEON;

FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. LAURENT DE L'ARDECHE,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, ETC.

WITH

FIVE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS, AFTER DESIGNS BY HORACE VERNET;

AND

TWENTY ORIGINAL PORTRAITS.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

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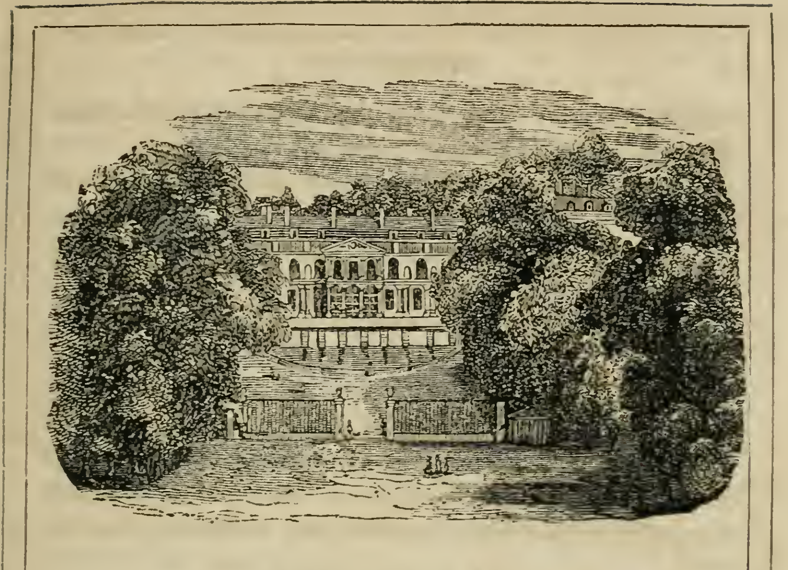
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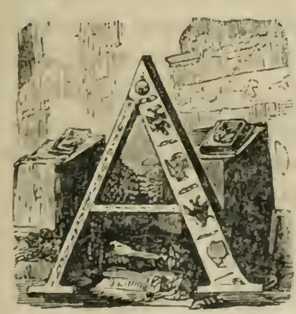
HISTORY

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER I.

Divorce of the Emperor. His marriage with an Arch-Duchess of Austria.



AFTER his return from Germany, Napoleon remained for some time at Fontainbleau, whence he had issued many decrees relative to the administration of the empire. Returning to his capital, he was followed by the kings of his creation, who hastened to Paris in order to felicitate him on his new triumphs, and on the conclusion of peace. Milan, Florence and Rome sent deputations for the same purpose; the Greek synod of Dalmatia also sent to him, and

their deputy was received by the Emperor, on the 20th November, 1809, at a solemn audience.

The anniversary of the coronation, and of the battle of Austerlitz approached, Nothing was spared to render its celebration more pompous and more brilliant. At the annual festival, a *Te Deum* was added on account of the peace, and the church of Nôtre Dame, received this time, not only the senate and the other great bodies of the state, but the concourse of kings and nobles, which then formed the court and cortége of the Emperor: the kings of Saxony, Holland, Westphalia, Naples and Wirtemberg assisted at the ceremony. Some days after, the viceroy of Italy, and the king and queen of Bavaria came to increase this reunion of crowned heads.

Napoleon might have regarded himself as at the summit of his glory. With the exception that it had not been granted him to erect his eagles on the towers of London, nothing in Europe was wanting to add to his power and glory. However his mission was far from being accomplished. By him and with him, the Revolution had established itself at Naples, Madrid, Rome, Milan, Vienna, Munich, Stuttgard, Cassel, Mayence, Dresden, Hamburgh, Berlin and Varsovia; but the Revolution, compelled to preserve an incognito beneath the Imperial mantle, could not proceed with the initiation of people by the rapid means of a bold propagation. It was therefore, important for it to remain as long as possible in other countries, in order that the slow and secret communication of its ideas and manners might have time to operate and fructify. Napoleon assisted this wonderfully. Determined to found a dynasty, to obtain for himself and his descendants the honour of sovereign confraternity, with the great powers of the continent, he wished to secure, after his striking victories, the friendship and alliance of the potentates whom he had vanquished. Erfurt he imagined, would answer for Alexander. If he succeeded in gaining Austria, Prussia

would not dare to stir by herself; the English influence would be ruined in the North, and the treaties of peace would cease to be mere truces or armistices. Now, that the hope of pacifying Europe in a double manner, and sincerely attaching the ancient royal races of Petersburg and Vienna to his alliance, could be but a fatal illusion, from which the genius of the great man could not protect the weakness of the monarch, it mattered little. The pacific efforts of Napoleon must nevertheless produce their effect: they will adjourn the breaking out of the war; they will still permit the French soldiers to occupy Germany and part of Poland for some years, and to exhibit to the people of these countries, in the common relations of every day life, revolutionary morals and democratic habits in action.

The desire of completing his dynastic establishment, and seeing himself admitted into the family of kings, inspired Napoleon with views favourable to the pacification of Europe. But at the same time that he sought for friends and allies for his dynasty, in foreign courts, he thought of giving a fresh basis to it in France. He expected to fulfil this double aim by proposing his divorce with Josephine, and forming a new marriage which would promise him heirs of his blood in a direct line, and august alliances founded on an illustrious parentage. The adoption of Eugene no longer sufficed him. Here was, indeed, a successor ready to seize the reins and to govern by himself; but he had not been brought up for the throne, and the recommendation of birth was wanting in the eyes of Napoleon, who had so easily dispensed with it in himself, and who preferred, hereafter, casting the destinies of his empire into the cradle of a child, born an Imperial prince, than to confide them to the noble character, to the certain merit, and to the well known capacity of a man ripened beside himself. The putting aside of Josephine was therefore resolved upon. She expected it, "great as had been the happiness she had conferred upon her husband, and

constantly as she had evinced herself his most tender friend," as Napoleon himself says in the Memorial of St. Helena. With the Emperor, considerations of state, surmounted all private affections. Above all he was a politician. Josephine had for some time read the fate which was reserved for her, on the physiognomy of her illustrious husband, who seemed to shun her, in proportion as he rose in the sphere of monarchical grandeurs and vanities. At length that which she had foreseen was realized. The fatal secret which she had perceived in the depth of Napoleon's soul, and the suspicion of which had so cruelly lacerated her own, was revealed to her by her husband, on the 30th November, 1809. The Emperor and Empress had dined together; Napoleon, sombre and buried in thought, Josephine, sorrowful and silent. After dinner, every one took leave. "I read in the alteration of his features," said Josephine afterwards, "the struggle which was passing in his soul; but at length I saw that my hour had come. He trembled, and I felt a shuddering creep all over me. He approached me, took me by the hand, pressed it to his heart,



looked at me for a moment without speaking, and then let these fatal words escape: 'Josephine! my good Josephine! you know if I have loved you! It is to you, to you alone,

that I have been indebted for the sole moments of bliss which I have tasted in this world. Josephine, my destiny is more powerful than my will. My dearest affections must be sacrificed to the interests of France." Josephine would not hear further; but hastily interrupting the Emperor: "Say no more," she exclaimed, "I expected it; I understand you. . . ." Her sobs interrupted her in her turn; the words expired on her lips, and she fainted; she was carried to her chamber, where she beheld herself on recovering her senses, between her daughter Hortense and Corvisart, and face to face with Napoleon.

But this first and violent shock which the Emperor must have been prepared for, gave place to a calmer and more concentrated grief. Josephine assumed an air of resignation, and consented to all the public demonstrations which were required of her. The official drama was played at the Tuileries, on the evening of the 15th December, 1809, at a family assemblage, at which the arch-chancellor Cambacérès and the secretary of state assisted. Napoleon, who had prepared every thing for the accomplishment of his designs, thus expressed himself:—

"The policy of my monarchy," says he, "the interest, the wants of my people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require that I should leave at my decease to children inheriting my love for my people, that throne on which Providence has placed me. However, for several years, I have lost all hope of having children by my dearly beloved wife, the Empress Josephine: it is this which drives me to sacrifice the dearest affections of my heart, to listen to naught but the good of the state, and to wish for the dissolution of our marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may conceive the hope of living sufficiently long to elevate, in my mind and after my ideas, the children with which it shall please Providence to bless me. God knows how much this resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice which

is beyond my power, when it is demonstrated to me that it is for the welfare of France.

"I should also add, that, far from ever having had to complain, I have on the contrary, only had cause to laud the attachment and tenderness of my beloved wife: she has adorned fifteen years of my life; the recollection thereof will always remain graven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand, I therefore wish that she should preserve the rank and title of Empress; but above all, may she never doubt of my sentiments, and may she ever regard me as her best and dearest friend."

Josephine, mastering the painful emotion which filled her soul, acquitted herself with dignity of the sorrowful part which had been cast for her, and faithfully pronounced the official speech for which the arch-chancellor waited, in order to convey it to the senate:

"With the permission of our august and dear husband," said she, "I must declare, that, retaining no hope of bearing children which might satisfy the wants of his policy and the interests of France, I am glad to be enabled to give him the greatest proof of devotion and attachment ever exhibited on earth. I owe every thing to his bounty; it was his hand which crowned me; and, seated on this throne, I have received nothing but testimonies of affection and love from the French people.

"I believe I acknowledge all these sentiments by consenting to the dissolution of a marriage, which, at present, is an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprives it of being one day governed by the descendants of a great man, so evidently raised by Providence, to efface the ills of a terrible revolution, and re-establish the altar, the throne and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no way alter the sentiments of my heart; in me the Emperor will always have his best friend. I know how much this act, called for by policy and by such great interests, has lacerated

his heart; but we both glory in the sacrifice we make for the good of the country."

The assemblage was numerous: all present were moved into tears. The next day, the arch-chancellor presented, and the senate hastened to adopt a proposition of the *senatus-consulte* pronouncing the divorce of Napoleon and Josephine.

This great act accomplished, the Emperor busied himself with the choice of a new consort. Alexander had caused to be hinted that he would willingly give him the hand of one of his sisters, the grand-duchess Anne. A negociation was consequently opened with Russia; but Napoleon presently learnt through his ambassador at Vienna, M. de Narbonne, that the house of Lorraine was also envious of his alliance, and would be charmed to see him wed an Austrian princess, the arch-duchess Maria Louisa. One would imagine, that these desires of alliance, announced, on the part of foreign kings, a renunciation of any fresh war of principles, and a sincere conversion to a generous and moderate policy towards the government which was for them but the heir and representative of the French Revolution. So many reverses, accumulated from year to year, had, doubtless, shaken their sympathy for the misfortune of the legitimate princes; and one would have thought that after Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland and Wagram, the monarchs of the North would have been weary of pursuing the campaign, of exhausting their financial resources, and deluging the half of Europe with the blood of the flower of their subjects, for the cause of a decayed race, especially when Napoleon did every thing to persuade them that the common danger, with which the Republic had threatened them, no longer existed. But this lassitude could never lead to a genuine reconciliation; it only required a change of fortune in the life of Napoleon to rouse, despite the ties of blood, the ancient hatred of which the Revolution and himself had been the object. Events have proved this with regard to Austria; Russia would not have been more re-

strained, in her anti-gallican tendency, by the consideration of marriage. Is it not well known that in politics, family affections are only taken into consideration, after the interests and reasons of state? It is probable that a brother-in-law, on the throne of the czars, had acted in the same manner as a father-in-law on the throne of Maria Theresa, for the safety of the empire, and the dynasty of Napoleon. In both cases, the great man, according to his own expression, had "set his foot upon an abyss covered with flowers."

This eagerness for his alliance, by the most haughty and powerful sovereign houses of Europe, will remain in history as a monument of the grandeur to which France and her leader had attained, and of the striking superiority which the plebeian glory exercised over illustrious birth and ancient vanities. What a triumph for the French democracy! It was not enough that their long and obstinate coalition against the revolutionary spirit, had served to crown the Revolution, and to bestow upon it the most brilliant of diadems in exchange for the *bonnet rouge*: one last affront was wanting to dynastic pride; one last blow was reserved for the prejudice of birth. This prejudice, decked with the contempt of philosophy, and struck by the anathemas of the people, had been immolated in France even by the high nobility itself; but the memorable night of the 4th August, 1789, had been for monarchical Europe, naught save a legislative orgy, the consequences of which were unanimous protestations in foreign courts, the manifesto of Brunswick, and the declaration of Pilnitiz. To complete the victory of the principle of equality, nothing was required but that to the solemn abjuration of Montmorency at the tribunal of the constituent assembly, should be annexed the sacrifice of the pretensions of race, the abandonment of the system of misalliances, the profanation of the genealogical worship, on the part of the reigning houses themselves; and this profanation, this abandonment, this sacrifice, were in effect accomplished by the proud aristocrats themselves, who signed the declaration of

Pilnitiz. The haughty descendants of Peter the Great, and the magnificent heirs of Charles the Fifth, sent one day rival diplomatists to knock at the gate of the Tuileries, in order there to offer the hand of a sister or a daughter of the Cæsars to the commandant of artillery who bombarded ancient royalty in Toulon, in the name of the regicide Montagne. This was done without any return to the pomp of hereditary illustration, and the revolutionary principle had nothing more to add to the triumph of the rights of genius and personal celebrity over the prejudices of blood, when the house of Lorraine, (united by Marie Antoinette with the house of Bourbon,) beheld its august



chief, cause his daughter, Maria Louisa, to be conducted in great pomp, and over the tomb of the Duke D'Enghien, to the

couch of the soldier who proscribed the royalists on the 18th Fructidor, and who shot them on the 13th Vendémiaire.

At liberty to choose between divers princesses of the most illustrious blood, Napoleon, after having taken the advice of his council, decided for the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, for the Arch-duchess Maria Louisa. Marshal Berthier was charged to go and make the official demand at Vienna. He arrived in this capital at the beginning of March, 1810, and, after having caused the portrait of his master to be accepted, he appeared at the solemn audience which the Emperor Francis granted him for the accomplishment of his mission.

" Sire," said he to him, " I come in the name of the Emperor, my master, to demand of you the hand of the Arch-duchess Maria Louisa, your illustrious daughter.

" The eminent qualities which distinguish this princess have assigned her place on a great throne. She will there constitute the happiness of a great people and of a great man.

" The policy of my sovereign is in accord with the desires of his heart.

" This union of two powerful families, Sire, will give to two generous nations fresh assurances of tranquillity and happiness."

The Emperor of Austria replied:

" I regard the demand in marriage, of my daughter, as a pledge of the sentiments of the Emperor of the French, which I appreciate.

" My wishes for the happiness of the future bride and bridegroom cannot be too truly expressed.

" I shall find in the friendship of the prince whom you represent, precious motives of consolation for the separation from my dear child; our people will see in it the assured pledge of their mutual welfare."

" I accord the hand of my daughter to the Emperor of the French."

The Marshal then addressed himself to the Arch-duchess Maria Louisa.

"Madam," said he to her, "your august parents have fulfilled the wishes of the Emperor, my master.

"Political considerations may have influenced the determination of both sovereigns, but the first consideration, is that of your happiness: it is especially with your consent, madam, that the Emperor, my master, wishes to obtain you.

"It will be beautiful to behold, united on one great throne, the genius of power, and the attractions and graces which cherish it.

"This will be a happy day, Madam, for the Emperor, my master, if your Imperial Highness bids me say to him that you partake of the hopes, the desires and sentiments of his heart."

The princess immediately gave the following reply, which had been dictated to her.

"The will of my father," said she, "has constantly been mine; my happiness will always constitute his.

"It is in these principles that His Majesty, the Emperor Napoleon, may find the pledge of the sentiments which I shall devote to my husband, rejoiced if I can contribute to his happiness and to that of a great nation! I give, with the permission of my father, my consent to my union with the Emperor Napoleon."

A third speech was addressed to the Empress, who repeated in her replies nearly the same wishes which her august spouse had already expressed. Then the French ambassador announced to Prince Charles that the Emperor Napoleon wished that his highness would give away the bride at the marriage ceremony. "I accept with pleasure," replied the Arch-duke, "the proposal, which H. M. the Emperor of the French transmits to me through you, equally flattered by his choice, as penetrated with the sweet presentiment that this alliance will efface even the most distant thoughts of political dissensions, repair the ills of war, and prepare a happy future for both nations, which are made to esteem, and who will award each other a reciprocal justice. I shall reckon as among the most interesting moments

of my life, that, in which, as proof of a reconciliation as frank as loyal, I shall present the hand of Madame the Arch-duchess Maria Louisa, in the name of the great monarch who has delegated you; and I beg of you, my prince (the Marshal had received the title of Prince of Neufchatel and of Wagram), to interpret to the whole of France the ardent wish I have formed, that the virtues of Madame the Arch-duchess may cement for ever the friendship of our sovereigns, and the happiness of their people."



The celebration of the marriage took place at Vienna, on the 11th March. The new Empress of the French set out on the 13th for France. She arrived on the 27th at Compiégne, where Napoleon had gone to receive her. A pompous ceremonial had been prepared for this first interview; but Napoleon, unable to repress his impatience, transgressed the

rule which he had himself laid down. Accompanied only by the King of Naples, he secretly quitted Compiégne, although it was raining, and placed himself under the porch of a little village church to wait for the future Empress ; as soon as Maria Louisa arrived, he entered the carriage, and they immediately repaired to the palace of Compéigne. The illustrious couple afterwards proceeded to St. Cloud, where the civil marriage was celebrated on the 1st April. The next day, they made their entry into the capital. The ceremony of the religious marriage, surrounded by all the pomp of the court and of the Catholic faith, took place on the same day in a chapel of the Louvre, magnificently decorated for the solemnity. The Emperor and Empress received the nuptial benediction from the hand of Cardinal Fesch, the grand almoner, in the presence of all the Imperial family, of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops and grand dignitaries of the Empire, as well as of a deputation from all the bodies of the state. This was indeed a popular *fête* ; all Paris gave way to joy, and this movement of public delight communicated itself, not only to all parts of France, but to all the people of the Continent, who fancied they saw, in the marriage of Napoleon with an Arch-duchess of Austria, an assured pledge of the duration of the peace.

On the 3rd of April, the senate of France, the senate of Italy, the legislative body, the ministers, cardinals, the court of cassation, etc., came to offer their congratulations to the Emperor and his new consort, who received them seated on their throne, and surrounded by the brilliant cortége, which formed the double court of the French empire and of the kingdom of Italy. Two days after, Napoleon and Maria Louisa departed for Compiègne, where they sojourned until the 27th of the same month; and afterwards went to visit Belgium, and the departments of the North, from Dunkirk and Lille, to Havre and Rouen. On the 1st of June, their majesties returned to the capital. The enthusiasm which had been displayed on the occasion of the marriage festivals

had not cooled. The city of Paris offered a brilliant *fête* to Napoleon and Maria Louisa, who assisted at the banquet which was given them at the Hotel de Ville.

The Imperial guard also wished to celebrate the union of its glorious chief with the beloved daughter of a monarch whom they had so often humiliated and beaten. The *fête*



took place in the Champ de Mars, and the guard performed the honours of it to Napoleon and his brilliant consort, in the name of the whole army.

In the midst of these universal transports and splendid rejoicings, the Austrian ambassador required a day in order to display his official joy and diplomatic pomp. He chose the 1st of July; but the *fête* was marked by a sinister event. A fire took place in the ball room; the wife of the Austrian minister and

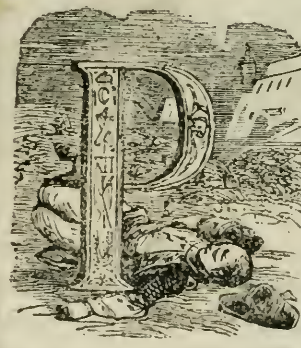
several other persons perished in the flames. Napoleon would not leave the care and honour of saving his wife to any other hand; he quickly seized and bore her himself from the burning tenement. It was then remembered that the *fêtes* for the marriage of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, had also been troubled by serious accidents.





CHAPTER II.

Bernadotte called to succeed the King of Sweden. Reunion of Holland with France.



PASSING from the marriage fêtes of Napoleon and Louisa, we have to regard a remarkable event which had taken place in the North of Europe. Bernadotte had been chosen crown prince of Sweden: the diet had called upon him to succeed Charles XIII, in order to maintain the exclusion of the family of Wasa.

The representatives of the Swedish nation, doubtless, thought to please Napoleon, and to study the interests of his policy by making a like choice. Perhaps they had even sounded the intentions of the Emperor in respect to this, though some writers have pretended that the election was purely spontane-

ous, and that the French agent at Stockholm had taken no share in the matter except to oppose it. "Bernadotte was elected," says Napoleon, "because his wife was the sister of my brother Joseph's consort, then reigning at Madrid. Bernadotte, evincing great dependence, came to ask if I were agreeable thereto, protesting with too visible an inquietude that he would not accept of it, unless the same were in accordance with my wishes.

"I, a monarch chosen by the people, was forced to reply that I knew not how to oppose myself to the elections of other nations. This was what I said to Bernadotte, whose attitude betrayed the anxiety which the expectation of my reply gave birth to. I added that he had but to profit by the kindness of which he was the object, that I did not wish to be considered in any way with regard to his election, but that it had my consent and good wishes. At the same time, I told him, that I evinced a sort of forewarning which rendered the thing disagreeable and painful to me."

This evil presentiment was very natural with the Emperor, who could not forget that between him and Bernadotte there had always been a slight secret rivalry, and never any sympathy. However, he was a Frenchman, a soldier of the Republic, who had not failed to acquire the grandeurs of the Empire; it seemed that an indissoluble bond, stronger than the repugnances and personal grievances, irrevocably attached to the destinies of new France, the illustrious warrior who was called to reign one day over Sweden. Napoleon did not allow himself to be hindered by the suggestions which arose to him from his profound knowledge of mankind. He permitted his lieutenant to accede to the wishes of the Swedes; and if he thereby did violence to his own inclinations, there is more reason to acknowledge that the universal governor was himself guided by a power superior to his own. It had been said that in the vast movement of European regeneration, a child of that revolution, of which the last of the Wasas had

been the most obstinate enemy on the Continent, should be seated on their throne and turn their capital into a French city. If, later, the new king should forget his origin, and side with ancient Europe, it would be prejudicial to his former glory and fatal to the fortune of Napoleon; but Sweden would not the less become an assured conquest, sooner or later, for modern Europe, for the cause of the age. It will not be in vain that she will have installed philosophy and democracy in her palaces, that she will have felt descend upon her, from the heights of the administration and from the vicinity of the throne, the liberal breeze, the civilizing breath of France.

Almost at the same moment when one of the most celebrated marshals of Napoleon was in expectation of a crown at Stockholm, one of his brothers relinquished his at Amsterdam. Louis Bonaparte was a man of mind, full of good intentions; but the sceptre of Holland, under the empire of the continental blockade, was beyond his strength, and he let it fall to the ground. For a long time previously, the Emperor had reproached him with his too great feebleness in the execution of the decrees of Berlin and Milan. The *Moniteur* had even signalized the daily contravention of Holland with the Napoleon system, and to a complaint, that prince Louis had expressed on this subject, the Emperor had replied from Schœnbrunn: "It is France which has cause to complain of the bad feeling which exists amongst you. If you would like me to cite all the Dutch houses which are the trumpets of England, it would be very easy. Your custom-house regulations are so badly enforced, that all the correspondence of England with the continent passes through Holland. Holland is an English province."

These recriminations remained without effect. King Louis was as little touched by the present evils of Holland, as by the distant results which the continental blockade could promise Napoleon. The system of the Emperor, required, in

its execution, minds of a sufficiently powerful cast to place themselves in communication with his own. His first agents were his brothers, as soon as he had engaged himself in the foundation of a dynasty. He thought to secure them to his wishes and ideas, by placing them near to himself in the political hierarchy, by giving them a position analogous to that which he occupied himself, by placing the crown also on their brows; but, according to the expression which he had applied to Louis, he only created "royal prefects," who had all the qualities requisite to figure honourably in a secondary rank, or in another age, in whichever circumstances might have required. Although a suitable *cortége* of crowned heads had been easily found for the Emperor, it was more difficult to meet with auxiliaries, with intelligent co-operators for the great man. The throne had arisen most brilliantly surrounded; genius remained in solitude.

Louis Bonaparte, instead of becoming inspired with the ideas of his brother, and seeking to render Holland French, in spite of the slight resistance of personal interests, allowed her to exist under the patronage and in mercantile dependence on England. Napoleon, opposed by this behaviour, and annoyed at seeing his counsels disregarded, wrote another letter to the King of Holland which would alone suffice to testify, in history, that the Emperor, fully identified with the nation which had bestowed herself upon him, lived no longer but for France. We give a few passages from this remarkable missive:—

"Your majesty, by mounting the throne of Holland, have forgotten that you were French, and have even searched all your mental resources, tormented the delicacy of your conscience in order to persuade yourself that you were Dutch. The Hollanders who have leant towards France, have been neglected and persecuted; those who have served England have been advanced. The French, from the officer to the private soldier, have been driven away and disregarded: and

I have had the mortification of beholding in Holland, under a prince of my blood, the French name exposed to dishonour. However, the esteem and honour of the French name, which is so deeply engraven on my heart, I have been enabled to maintain by the bayonets of my soldiers; and it is neither for Holland, nor for any one whatever, to attaint it with impunity. Who then can justify the insulting and offensive behaviour towards the nation and towards me, which your majesty has been guilty of? You might comprehend that I cannot detach myself from my predecessors, and that, from Clovis down to the Committee of Public Welfare, I regard myself as heir to all. I know that it has become the fashion, among certain people, to eulogize me and decry France; but those who like not France, like not me, those who speak ill of my people, I consider as my greatest enemies. In my speech to the Legislative body, I evinced my dissatisfaction, for I will not conceal from you that my intention is to reunite Holland with France, as a complement of territory, as the most fatal blow that I can inflict upon England, and as ridding myself of the perpetual insults which the leaders of your cabinet cease not to offer me. The mouth of the Rhine and the Meuse must belong to me. The principle in France, that the Thalwag of the Rhine is our limit, is a fundamental principle. I will therefore leave to Holland the right bank of the Rhine, and I will raise the prohibitions given to my customs as soon as the existing treaties, which shall be renewed, are executed. These are my intentions:

"1st. The interdiction of all commerce and all communication with England.

"2nd. A fleet of fourteen sail of the line, to be supplied to France, seven frigates, and seven brigs or corvettes, armed and equipped;

"3rd. A land army also to be supplied of twenty-five thousand men;

"4th. The suppression of the marshals;

"5th. The revocation of all the privileges of nobility, inconsistent with the constitution which I have promulgated and guaranteed.

"Upon these as a basis your majesty may treat with the Duke of Cudore, through your minister; but you may be assured that on the entrance of the first packet-boat into Holland, I will re-establish my custom-houses; that, upon the first insult offered to my flag, I will cause to be seized, by force of arms, and hung at the yard-arm, the officer of Holland who shall have permitted the insult to my eagle. Your majesty will find in me a brother, if I find in you a Frenchman; but if you forget the sentiments which bind you to our common country, you will not take it ill if I forget those which nature has placed between ourselves. In conclusion, the union of Holland with France, is that which is most useful to France—to Holland—to the continent, for it is that which is most injurious to England. This union may be effected either by fair means or by foul; for I have grounds of complaint against Holland, sufficient for declaring war. But, at all times, I shall have no difficulty in agreeing to an arrangement which yields me the boundary of the Rhine, and by which Holland engages to fulfil the above conditions. Your affectionate brother.

"NAPOLEON."

The King of Holland was not converted by this domineering language. The wants, the actual interests of Dutch industry, especially occupied his care. He considered himself engaged to the Batavian people alone, and would have reproached himself with pursuing any other aim than the immediate prosperity of the provinces comprised in the territorial circumference of his kingdom. Regarding Holland only, he forgot that he had been placed there solely in order to concur in the triumph of a more general cause, in the glory and safety of a great empire. Louis was naturally repugnant to

extreme measures, and heroic remedies. He was one of those who are little in their politics; and his scruples, which had nevertheless a praiseworthy object, prevented him from seeing that the continental blockade was for the Emperor, that which the revolutionary government had been for the Republic, a deplorable necessity of short duration.

Louis, however, did not believe that the blockade decreed against England could produce so fatal a result in respect to the British interests, as the Emperor promised himself.

"The destruction of Holland," he wrote to Napoleon, "far from being a means of injuring England, will only improve her, since all the industry and all the wealth of Holland will there take refuge. There are but three means of really injuring England, either by detaching Ireland from her, by attacking her possessions in the Indies, or by a descent. The two last means, although the more efficacious, cannot be executed without a navy; but I am astonished that the first should have been so easily abandoned."

The Emperor who knew very well that he should not destroy Holland by imposing on her temporary sacrifices, and who believed that English industry could gain nothing by the crisis to which continental industry would be necessarily subjected; engaged in maritime speculations; the Emperor was little moved by the recriminations of King Louis. On his voyage to Belgium, he addressed to him from Ostend a fresh missive, which was but a reproduction of the same reproaches. "If subjected to one of my brothers," said he, "Holland does not find in him my image, you destroy all confidence in my administration; you, yourself destroy your sceptre. Love France, love my glory, it is the only way of serving the King of Holland.

"Holland, having become part of my empire, if you had been that which you should have been, would have been the more dear to me, since I had given her a prince who was almost my son. By placing you on the throne of Holland, I

imagined I had elevated a French citizen; but you have pursued a course diametrically opposite.... Return from this mistaken path; become a Frenchman in heart, or your people will drive you from them.... It is by reason and policy that kingdoms are governed."

The King of Holland, who persisted in remaining a Hollander, according to the cry of the moment, and the actual wants of the mercantile people of her ports, and not according to the views and distant foresight of the Emperor, finished by becoming weary of the unequal struggle which he maintained against his brother, and abandoned his dominions in order to withdraw into Germany, after having sent a formal act of abdication to Paris. Napoleon became indignant at this behaviour. On the report which the minister for foreign affairs made him, he decreed, on the 9th July, 1810, the reunion of Holland with the French Empire, and Marshal Oudinot took possession of Amsterdam.

The Emperor did not silently devour the affliction which the conduct of his brother occasioned him. When the latter by his abdication and flight, evidently intended to accuse him in the face of Europe and posterity, of having rendered the crown too heavy for him by his exactions, Napoleon could not remain passive under the blow and scandal of this denunciation, without replying to the unexpected accuser whom he had met with in his own family. And as all the acts of this extraordinary man were far removed from vulgar combinations, and common-place rules, he found a means, which no one would have dared to imagine, in order to make the arrow strike deeper which he had destined for the unfortunate Louis, and with a view to make his reproof more striking and remarkable. It was by commiserating the lot of the son, that he attained the father; the same speech gave life to the one, and death to the other, in the political world; and the people, which regulated its affections and hatreds by those of its hero, ceased to comprise, in its attachment to the

Imperial family, the brother who had desired to separate himself from the Emperor, and interested itself for the nephew, of whom the Emperor had declared himself the prop, nay, almost the father. On the 20th July, at a grand reunion at St. Cloud, Napoleon had the prince Napoleon Louis, his nephew, presented to him, and said with emotion:

"Come, my son, I will be your father; and you shall lose nothing.



"The behaviour of your father rends my heart; his sickness alone can explain it. When you are old enough, you will pay off his debt and your own. Never forget, in whatever position my policy and the interest of my empire may place you, that your first duties are towards me, your second towards France; all your other duties, even towards the people whom I might confide to you, will come after this."

If an ordinary king, seated on any other throne than that of France, had held similar language, he would have been reproached, and with good right, for an excess of pride, in having placed himself before his country, and with sacrificing to his policy the interests of allied or vanquished nations. But Napoleon did but place the duties towards himself before the duties towards France, insomuch as he regarded himself as the head and heart of France, and therefore considered the duties of princes, his subjects, towards the nations which he confided to them, should only be secondary to their duties towards France; because he also regarded France as the head and heart of Europe, nay of the civilized world.

The reunion of Valais with the empire followed closely upon that of Holland. The Emperor communicated these two great measures to the senate, in one message, at the sitting of the 10th December, 1810. It read thus:—

"The decrees published by the British council, in 1806 and 1807 have lacerated the public right of Europe. A fresh order of things regulates the universe. Fresh guarantees having become requisite for me, the union of the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe with the Empire, the establishment of an internal navigation with the Baltic, have appeared to me the first and most important.

"I have had prepared the plan of a canal which will be executed before five years, and which will unite the Seine with the Baltic.

"The union of Valais is a consequence foreseen by the immense labours which I had executed ten years since in that part of the Alps. Then by my act of mediation, I separated Valais from the Helvetic confederation, already foreseeing a measure so useful to France and Italy.

"As long as the war lasts with England, the French nation must not lay down arms.

"My finances are in the most prosperous state; I can

furnish all the expenses required by this great Empire, without asking fresh sacrifices of my people."

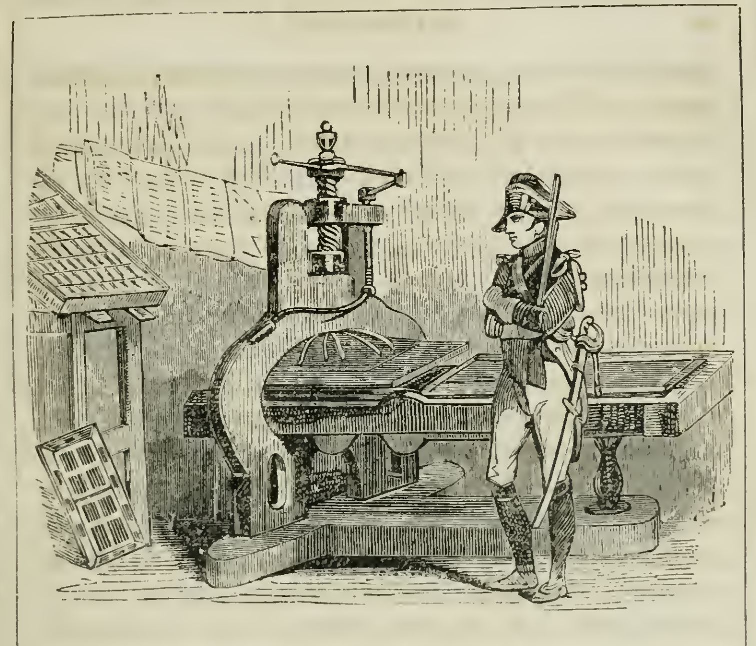
This financial prosperity was not one of the least wonderful matters in the reign of Napoleon. It was chiefly due to the spirit of order which he had communicated to all branches of the administration, and which he exacted with great severity. One has since been surprised that he should have sustained the war during fifteen years, from one end of Europe to the other, and that he should have governed new France, in her vast limits, from Rome to Hamburg, with the same taxes which have since scarcely sufficed to maintain peace within the narrow circle of ancient France.

The senate hastened to reply to the appeal of the Emperor; consecrated the union of Valais and that of Holland with the French Empire, and afterwards voted an address, the first sentence of which expresses the whole.

"Sire, the profoundness and extent of your designs, the frankness and generosity of your policy, and your solicitude for the good of your people were never more manifested than in the message addressed to the senate by your imperial Majesty."

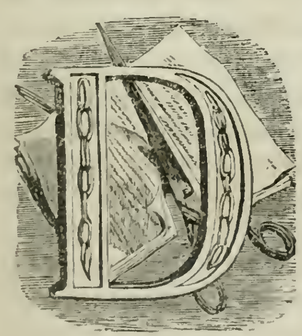
The senatorial devotion did not evaporate moreover, in pompous speeches and vain flatteries. The maritime conscription and that of 1811 were voted at the same sitting.





CHAPTER III.

Measures against the press. M. de Chateaubriand named to replace Chenier at the Institute. Birth and baptism of the King of Rome. Public *fêtes* in the capital and throughout the Empire. National council. The Pope at Fontainbleau.



DOWN to the present day, of all the reproaches brought against the memory of Napoleon, none has been reproduced with so much perseverance and bitterness, as that of having stifled the liberty of discussion in deliberating assemblies, and in the public columns. If he had only established censure, and made the tribunal dumb, it would have been sufficient, in the eyes of certain bigoted politicians to tarnish the glory of his life, and cloud the horizon of his fame with the stigma of tyrant.

Heaven forbid that we should deny the supreme utility of the press! In it, we acknowledge and respect more than any person, the first of civilizing powers, the true sovereign of modern times, the imperishable agent of Providence in the great work of the emancipation of nations, the glorious advance-guard of the consul Bonaparte in the preparation, the accomplishment and the defence of the French Revolution, the sole heir to the influence, the ascendancy and the power of the Emperor Napoleon over public opinion, not only in France, but in every civilized nation.

When Napoleon took possession of the reins of government, the press gave way from sheer lassitude and exhaustion, after an obstinate struggle of ten years. A tool in the hands of the different parties who divided the nation, it now favoured anarchy alone, and allowed disgust and contempt to increase around the Revolution, which it formerly induced men to cherish and respect. It required repose, in order to acquire fresh vigour, even as the Revolution wanted another protector, who would better defend her against her implacable enemies, and against her wavering friends. The hour of a dictator had arrived: Napoleon appeared. The democracy renounced the increasing speeches of its committees, its clubs and its journals, speeches which had been often sublime, and always powerful at the moment when France was endangered, and which had ended by becoming merely an incessant cause of disturbances and troubles for the country, and a permanent means of enfeebling and rendering power of little consideration. The silent era commenced, or rather, to the tempests of the forum succeeded an admirable monologue, in which France shewed herself not less great than in the finest days of her parliamentary career. The heritage of the illustrious constitutional and conventional orators was grasped at by these unworthy or unskilful successors. A thousand discordant voices arose, each of which desired to interpret after his own manner the wants and wishes of the country, and only suc-

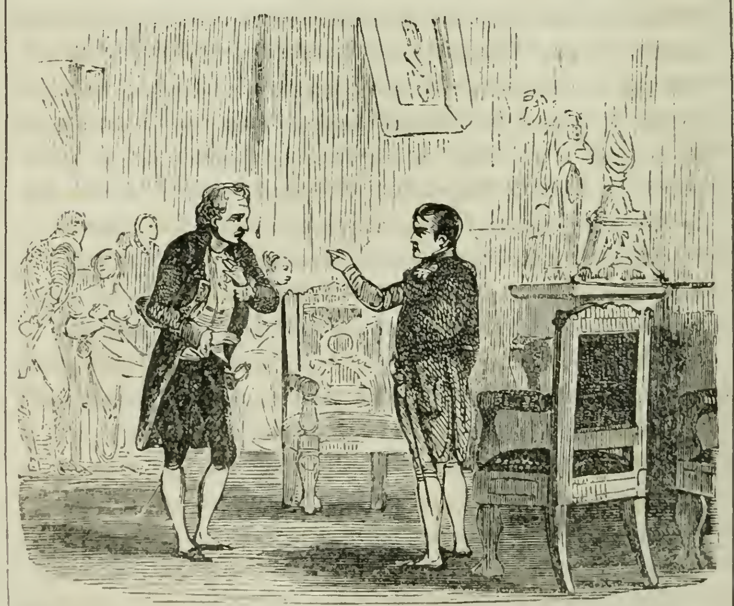
ceeded in idefinitely protracting and perpetuating her perils and sufferings. In the midst of these confused voices, a man appeared, who dared to say in his turn: "It is I who am France; for I know better than all these pretended interpreters that which she wants and desires." And as this man spoke truly, France believed and accepted him for her sole organ.

From that moment, the confused and discordant voices were hushed, and the supreme representative of France alone spoke: it was the inevitable condition of the task which he had to fulfil, in order to render the Revolution tranquil within and powerful without. Moreover, the liberty of the press was not stifled; it was only covered by a veil and kept out of sight, until the inevitable reaction of which it was the object had ceased, and circumstances should again bring it forward on the scene, and restore to it the sovereignty of the human mind. Doubtless the press comprehended that this was the moment for retirement, and that it would be better to let the genius of the dictator speak and act, since it resigned itself to silence, under whose reign it might be enabled to render its excesses forgotten and repair its strength, in order to re-appear one day more active and influential than ever. If the liberty of the press had been necessary for this epoch, none could have violated it with impunity; and if the press, which afterwards heroically rebelled against the orders of Charles X., then servilely obeyed the decrees of Napoleon, it was because the popular feelings and wants of 1810 were not those of 1830, and that the press was inspired by national instincts and equally served the cause of the age, whether it abstained from resistance against the representatives of the Revolution, or gave the signal of revolt against the representatives of the *ancien régime*.

Scarcely had Napoleon published a fresh restrictive measure, touching the periodical press, the object of which was to authorize but one single journal for each department, than an

unforeseen event came to confirm him in the system which the difficulty of the times had imposed upon him, of watching over all public manifestation of ideas and political opinions.

M. de Chateaubriand had been named to replace Chenier at the Institute. Custom demanded that the holder should eulogize his predecessor. M. de Chateaubriand boldly strove to free himself from the yoke of tradition, and feared not to take a revolutionary character, in the bosom of the Academy, in order thereby to create an opportunity for delivering some eloquent declamations against the French Revolution, and bitterly censuring the patriot poet to whom France was indebted for the "Parting Song." But his speech, previously submitted to a commission was rejected by them, and was not delivered. Among the commissioners was one of the most zealous courtiers of Napoleon, who, as soon as he was



informed of it, demanded to read the work of M. de Chateaubriand, and when he had beheld with what pride and violence

the author of "Atala," whose genius had not yet arrived at the sublime perception which has since revealed to him the social future of France, endeavoured to abase the present and exalt the past, he could not contain his indignation, and seizing in the midst of a numerous circle the academical dignitary who had judged the proscribed speech worthy of publicity, he sharply addressed him in these terms:—

"Is it then you, Sir," said he to him, "who wish to authorize such a proceeding? and since when has the Institute allowed itself to become a political assembly? Let it make verses, let it censure faults of speech, but never leave the domain of the Muses, or I shall know how to restore it to its place. If M. de Chateaubriand is either insane or malicious, he can be provided with an asylum or with chastisement. If, perhaps, this were even his opinion, and he did not owe the sacrifice of it to my policy, with which he was unacquainted, whereas you know it so well, he might have some excuse; you can have none, you who live near me, who are aware of all that I do, of all that I desire. Sir, I consider you guilty, nay, criminal: you tend to nothing less than to restore disorder, confusion, anarchy and massacre. Are we then bandits, and am I but an usurper? I have dethroned no one Sir; I have found, I have raised the crown from the kennel, and the people have placed it on my head: their acts should be respected.

"To analize in public, to question, to discuss such recent facts, in our present circumstances, is to seek for fresh convulsions, to be the enemy of the public repose. The restoration of the monarchy, is and ought to remain a mystery. And again, what is this new and pretended conscription of conventionals and regicides? wherefore dare to arouse such delicate points? Let us leave God to pronounce on that which it is no longer permitted for men to judge! Should you be more difficult to satisfy than the Empress? she has interests fully as dear, perhaps, as you have, and quite otherwise

directed; rather imitate her moderation, her magnanimity; she desired to learn and know nothing.

"What! the object of all my cares, the fruit of all my efforts, must it be lost! I am to understand that if I were to fail you to-morrow, you would again slay each other after the most approved fashion! Alas! poor France! thou wilt still long need a tutor."

This last exclamation of the Emperor explains all the political idea which governed him in future, and which characterized his reign. He knew how to protect France, to preserve her from the return of faction, to preserve her from exhausting herself in vain disputes or bloody quarrels, when party spirit imputed his reason for so acting to excess of ambition and pride; and that which was characterized as "tyranny" by his detractors, he himself called a "tutelar sovereignty;" even as the people, his supreme and infallible judge, only saw and admired a powerful and glorious government, guided by the genius of a great man, so a few isolated grumblers perceived and remarked naught but despotic features. The moment approached, however, in which fortune was about to grant Napoleon the highest and last favour which hereafter seemed to await him.

On the 19th March, 1811, the Empress Maria Louisa felt the first pangs of child-birth. At first a perilous delivery was feared: the celebrated Dubois, foreseeing a case in which a difficult operation might become necessary, asked what should be done, if they were reduced to choose between saving the mother or the child. "Think but of the mother," said the Emperor immediately, in which the affections of the man triumphed, at this solemn moment, over the interests and combinations of the monarch. On the 20th, at nine o'clock in the morning, all his anxieties had ceased, all his desires were fulfilled: Maria Louisa was brought to bed of a son, which Napoleon immediately received into his arms, and hastened to exhibit to the officers of his household, exclaiming



in the intoxication of joy: "He is a King of Rome."

The noise of cannon shortly announced to the capital the happy event which crowned the wishes of the chief of the Empire. *Fêtes* and public rejoicing soon gave evidence of the share which the great people took in the happiness of the great man. Naples, Milan, all the towns where French domination had penetrated, imitated Paris. The bodies of state, the foreign ambassadors offered their congratulations to the happy father of the King of Rome, and it was the Prince of Hatzfeld, the same whom Napoleon had pardoned at Berlin, in consideration of the tears of his wife, who represented on this occasion, the King of Prussia.

The baptism of the King of Rome took place on the 9th June, at Notre Dame. All Paris lined the path of the Emperor. The people wished to read for themselves, on the radiant forehead of their hero, the profound enjoyments of the father and of the monarch, and also desired to evince their own satisfaction. The smile of Napoleon, so fugitive and rare on his severe countenance, allowed itself to be surprised and observed this time, and produced a wonderful reflection on all the physiognomies which pressed around the procession. It

was a magnificent spectacle, in the splendour of which Heaven itself seemed to concur, by favouring this beautiful day with a bright sun and a cloudless sky, which made the popular enthusiasm say, the remembrance and the expression of which the poet has preserved: "Heaven always favours him!"

The young prince was baptised by his great uncle, Cardinal Fesch. For godfather he had his grandfather, the Emperor of Austria, and received the names of Napoleon, Francis, Charles, Joseph. His baptism became the signal for great rejoicings throughout the whole extent of the vast dominions of his father. The prefect of the Seine and the municipal body of Paris fêted the mayors of the good cities of the Empire, and of the kingdom of Italy. Even M. de Bourrienne, who frequently detracted from Napoleon, is forced to confess that "the entry into the world of the King of Rome was saluted by a general enthusiasm, and that no child ever saw the light of day surrounded by so brilliant a crown of glory."

But despite the manifestations of the public happiness and universal enjoyment, Napoleon perceived the sacerdotal spirit which agitated itself obscurely in order to form a secret opposition, and endeavour to undermine his throne. Pius VII. still persisted in his resolution not to bestow the canonical institution on the bishops named by the Emperor, or, more correctly speaking, he would not hearken to any arrangement, until he had been fully restored to the possession of his capital and his dominions. In vain had Napoleon promoted to the archbishopric of Paris, the leader of the ancient right-hand side of the constituent assembly; the pontifical inflexibility would not relax in favour of the celebrated *abbé* Maury, who, it was said, had only joined the new empire, because he found therein the consecration of the monarchical principle, of which he had been the ardent and obstinate defender. The Pope even launched a brief against this ancient champion of royalty, and the Holy See; but this act of reproof was only circulated in secret. It was then that Napoleon, informed

that an eminent functionary of the Empire, Portalis, the director of the library, had known of this clandestine propagation and had not prevented it, sharply rebuked him in the midst of his council of state. "What could have been your motive?" said he to him. "Could it be your religious principles? But wherefore are you here? I will not violate the conscience of any one. Did I compel you by force to become my counsellor of state? It is a distinguished favour which you have solicited. You are here the youngest, and perhaps the only one who is without personal claims to that office; I have regarded in you but the services of your father... The duties of a counsellor of state towards me are immense: you have violated them, and are one no longer. Begone, and never appear here again. I am vexed, for I have present to my memory the virtues and the services of your father."



The young counsellor of state took his departure and the Emperor added:—

"I trust that a similar scene will never be renewed; it has pained me too much."

But it was not sufficient for Napoleon to exclude from being near him the men whose sympathies were in favour of Papacy. In order to destroy the evident ill-will of a large portion of the clergy, he thought of publicly displaying the under-hand war which was waged against him, in the name of Pius VII., with briefs and bulls, and to lay before the French episcopacy, the natural guardian of gallican doctrines, the absurd pretensions of the pontiff. He therefore convoked a national council, the presidency of which he confided to Cardinal Fesch, and at which he caused those of the Italian episcopacy to appear, whom he imagined docile to his views. The appeal which he addressed to the bishops was thus conceived:—

"The most noted and populous churches of the empire are vacant; one of the contracting parties in the Concordat has disregarded it. The conduct which has been pursued in Germany for the last ten years has almost destroyed episcopacy, in this portion of Christendom: at present there are but eight bishops; a great number of dioceses are governed by apostolical vicars; the chapters have been troubled in the right which they possess of providing, during the vacancy of the see, for the administration of the diocese, and secret manœuvres have been set on foot, tending to excite discord and sedition among our subjects. The chapters have rejected the briefs contrary to their rights and to the holy canons.

"However, years are elapsing, and fresh bishops vacate every day: if this were not promptly provided for, episcopacy would become extinct in France and in Italy, as in Germany. Desiring to guard against a state of things so contrary to the welfare of our religion, to the principles of the Gallican church, and the interest of the state, we have resolved to convoke on the approaching 9th of June, in the church of Notre Dame of Paris, all the bishops of France and Italy to a national council.

"We therefore desire that as soon as you shall have received these presents, you do set out, in order to arrive at our good city of Paris in the first week of the month of June.

"This letter having no other object, we beseech God to take you under his holy care."

The first general meeting of the bishops did not, however,



take place until the 20th June. The Emperor despite the care which he had taken to choose the president of this assembly from his own family, did not find him so docile as he had hoped. Cardinal Fesch deceived at the commencement the expectation of Napoleon, by letting him perceive in him in the council, the priest of Rome, rather than the great dignitary of the Empire. The man could scarcely act otherwise; for this was no longer the age for Gallicanism. The 18th century, and the French Revolution, which succeeded Bossuet, had profoundly shaken the doctrine and authority of

this great man in the bosom of the clergy. Beneath the blows of Voltarian sarcasm and political persecution, priesthood had been compelled to turn again towards the Holy See, and attach itself more strongly than ever to the supreme head in whom dwelt the vital principle of Catholicism. Cardinal Fesch would have feared to achieve the ruin of the Romish church in France, and himself to stab it to the heart, by boldly pronouncing against the pontifical pretensions, and lending himself to measures which would tend to weaken his claims upon the spiritual power, from which he derived his own strength. After having committed the imprudence of reasoning in favour of, and proclaiming the liberties of the Gallican church under Louis XIV, he had been forcibly driven back by the events of the last years of the reign of Louis XVI., to the transalpine relations, and the more he felt himself menaced by the spirit of the modern age, the more he sought to replace himself under the protection of the genius of former days, and to remount towards the source of his power and his life. But if the bishops in a body still necessarily belonged to the past, the princes of the church, taken individually, were of the present age, and little disposed to struggle against the formidable and magnificent dispenser of all wordly favours. The council was therefore dissolved, but the Emperor obtained from each French and Italian prelate a separate declaration, fully comformable to his views.

In the mean time, the venerable old man, whose capital, the ancient abode of the Cæsars, had been gifted to an infant successor, remained still at Savona, where he lived in the greatest simplicity. No accommodation had been brought about. It has even been certified, on the best authority, that the million of francs inflicted by Napoleon on the Pope was refused. To conceal this refusal, the money was regularly sent, and Cæsar and Berthier, who had charge of the household, took care that the sum uniformly disappeared in the

management of an establishment for the Pope, which had been forced on his Holiness. One day the Emperor was discussing with Cardinal Fesch the subject of the Pope's recusancy; the latter made some remarks which put the former into a fury, and, calling both his uncle and the holy father two old fools, he added: "The Pope is an obstinate old fellow, and will listen to nothing! No most assuredly, I will not send him back to Rome!"—"He refuses to remain at Savona.—Eh, well! where does he suppose I mean to send him then?"—"To Heaven most likely," added the Cardinal with great coolness.

Subsequently, the Emperor Napoleon, in the commencement of 1812, transferred the Pope to Fontainbleau, under the friendly care of Denon, who had accompanied the First Consul to Egypt. Two motives induced this change of residence,—fear of disturbances in Italy while the Pope remained so near, and apprehension that the English in the Bay of Genoa might make a dash and rescue the venerable captive. There was delicacy, however, in placing near his person one of Denon's accomplishments, character, and disposition. "The Pope," says Denon himself, "conceived great friendship for me, and always addressed me, 'my son,' and delighted in conversing on our Egyptian expedition. One day he asked me for my book; but as all is not quite orthodox therein, I hesitated; but he insisted. After having finished the perusal, the holy father said it had interested him very much, and I endeavoured to gloss over the objectionable points relative to the Mosaic account of the creation. 'It is all one, my son,' he repeated on several occasions, 'it is quite the same; all that is extremely curious; in truth I did not know it before.' Then," pursued Denon, "I thought I might venture to tell his Holiness the cause of my hesitation, and that he had formerly excommunicated both the work and its author. 'Excommunicated thee, my son!' returned the Pope with the most touching kindness, 'have I excommuni-

cated thee? I am very sorry for it! I am sure I never intended to do so.'" Denon says that he was greatly touched by the virtues and resignation of the holy father; who, notwithstanding, would sooner have become a martyr than yield the temporal sovereignty of Rome. Of this he considered himself as depositary, and resolved it should never be said he had resigned the trust voluntarily.





CHAPTER IV.

Retrospective glance at the progress of military affairs in Spain and Portugal, from 1809 to 1812.



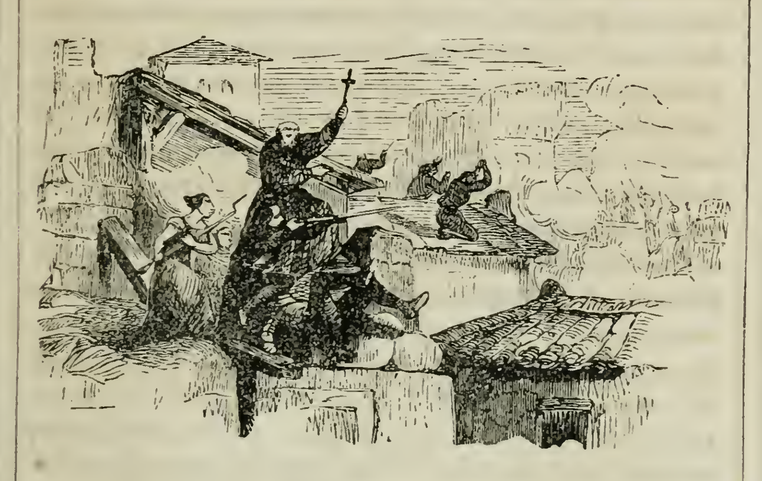
EAVING the contemplation of Napoleon's religious policy, let us turn to Spain, where the French education of its inhabitants continued in the midst of the calamities of war. Since the Emperor had quitted the Peninsula, his lieutenants, incessantly harassed by the guerillas, had also frequently to do battle with the regular troops of which the Anglo-Spanish armies were composed; but despite the divers chances of these daily rencounters, and after several sanguinary battles and murderous sieges, the military authority of the King Joseph was established at all points of the Spanish monarchy.

At the commencement of 1809, and after the return of Napoleon to France, Palafox, who had thrown himself into

Saragossa after the rout of Tudela, had defended the capital of Arragon with the greatest heroism. The siege was prosecuted with the utmost skill and valour; and the most undaunted heroism was displayed in the defence. Priests were seen in some of the streets, with a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, leading crowds of townsmen to the ramparts; in others, women and children were carrying refreshments to their kinsmen; or mingled with the combatants were rushing upon the foe to avenge the deaths of fathers, husbands, sons and brothers. The Spaniards, struggling for that which they esteemed freedom and national independence, exhibited a spectacle worthy of Europe and the age, and an example for time to come. The French remained for several months under the walls of Saragossa, and when the bravery of the soldiers, the science of the generals, and all the resources of the art of war skilfully brought into operation by the chiefs of the artillery, and genius, had caused the outer works of the place, and the ramparts of the town to fall beneath the power of the Imperial arms, it was still requisite to continue this desperate struggle in the streets, and form, in a manner, the siege of each particular house. At length, Spanish obstinacy was forced to yield to French valour.

When the French entered the city, upwards of six thousand bodies were found in the streets and trenches. Among the prisoners was Augustina, called, for the bravery she had exhibited in the siege, "The Maid of Saragossa." She was of humble parentage, but was gifted with a genius equal to her courage, and her counsel was not less admirable than her skill and constancy. She was not the only heroine of the time. One lady, named Manuella Sanchez, was shot through the heart during the siege; and another, Donna Benita, who had assisted to supply provisions, tend the wounded, and hurl stones from the house-tops upon such of the French soldiery as had made their way into the streets, survived the dangers of the siege, only to expire of grief on learning the death of

her daughter. Six hundred women and children perished during the memorable siege of this city. In all there were about forty thousand of the Spaniards slain.



On the 21st February, the town surrendered at discretion to Marshal Lannes. The president of the junta, Mariano Dominguez, took the oath of fidelity to King Joseph. "We have performed our duty against you," said he to the Marshal, "in defending ourselves to the last extremity; we shall, for the future, maintain our new engagements with the same constancy."

It would be difficult to describe the state of horror and desolation into which the capital of Arragon was plunged. A frightful epidemic had just broken out, to add its ravages to those of the war. "The hospitals," says an illustrious marshal in his memoirs, "could no longer receive the sick and wounded. The cemetries were insufficient to contain the dead; corpses, sewn in sacks, were scattered by hundreds before the church-doors." The daily deaths amounted, it is said to about three hundred and fifty. "Men stretched upon straw," says Mr. Southey, "lay breathing their last in help-

less misery, spreading with their dying breath the mortal taint of their disease; who, if they had fallen in action, would have died with the exultation of martyrs. Neither medicines nor necessary food were to be procured, nor needful attendance; for the ministers of charity themselves became victims of the disease. The church of the Pilar was crowded with poor creatures; who, despairing of life, hoped now for nothing more than to die in the presence of their tutelary saint. The slightest wound produced gangrene and death in bodies so prepared for dissolution, by distress of mind, agitation, want of proper aliment, and of sleep.

The taking of Saragossa was followed by that of Jaca and Mouzon. Nevertheless, all these reverses could not shake



the constancy of the Spanish insurgents. A portion of the French army of Arragon marched into Castille, leaving to the

third division the care of maintaining a conquest which had cost the besiegers eight thousand men. As soon as General Blake, who was then in Catalonia, learnt that the conquerors of Palafox were divided, and that the fifth division had left the Ebro in order to march towards the Tagus, he left Tortosa, at the head of forty thousand men, and penetrated into Arragon with the intention and hope of retaking Saragossa.

This attempt was at first marked by a slight advantage which Blake obtained at Alcanitz. But the third division was commanded by a bold and skilful chief, Suchet, who had gained his high rank in the army, by striking services rendered in the wars of Italy and Germany, and who was the cause of Napoleon subsequently saying that, if he had had two marshals like him in Spain, he would have conquered and maintained the Peninsula, so unheard of were the successes which his just, conciliating, and administrative spirit, his military tact, and his bravery enabled him to obtain. Suchet had been called to replace Junot in Arragon. This wise and brave warrior had soon repaired the affront of a first check, and restored victory to the flag of France. The glorious affairs of Maria and Belchitte destroyed the hopes of Blake and forced him to return to Catalonia. Suchet was worthily seconded by the intrepid General Harispe, and by the commandant of artillery Vallée, for whom a future conquest procured the *bâton* of Marshal.

The Spanish army, thus dispersed, the general-in-chief of the third division returned to Saragossa, where he busied himself in healing the wounds and appeasing the resentments of the population. His efforts were not in vain. In the midst of her ruins, Saragossa soon resumed the course of her *fêtes* and religious ceremonies, of which the most imposing were celebrated in the church of the Pillar, under the protection of the French General who judged it adviseable to blend military pomp with the majesty of religious worship.

It was by such acts, and by means of prudence and kind



demonstrations, as well as by the rigorous maintenance of discipline, that the city the most hostile to the French dominion, in all Spain, beheld itself insensibly led to support this same dominion without a murmur, which she had repulsed with so much vigour and obstinacy.

Arragon appeared on the point of being pacified when the appearance of a new guerilla chief, the young Mina, rekindled the flame of insurrection in this province. But General Suchet did not allow the conflagration time to develop or extend itself. He pursued Mina, dispersed his bands, and took him prisoner.

The French army was not so fortunate in Catalonia. The Generals had great difficulty in maintaining their positions, having constantly to struggle against the numerous bodies of partisans which the Catalonian population furnished, or against the regular troops of Caro, Blake and O'Donnel. In order to acquire for the French army the same superiority at this point as in Arragon, it became necessary to increase the power of Suchet, and cause him to descend from the mountains of Saragossa into the plains of Tarragona and Valencia.

Before effecting this movement, the leader of the third division employed himself in securing the submission of the province which he was about to abandon, by taking possession of the fortresses which mark, from north to south, the limit of Arragon and Catalonia. This was an affair of some months. On the 4th April, 1810, he was master of Balaguer; and, the 13th June of the same year, Lerida, Mequinenza and Morella were also in his power. The double road of Valencia and Tortosa were thus open to the pacificator of Arragon; he took that of Tortosa.

The Spanish General Caro at first manifested some intention of opposing himself to the siege of this place; but on the approach of Suchet, he changed his design and hastily retired. Suchet nevertheless waited before attacking Tortosa, until the seventh division should have furnished him with indispensable reinforcements which he had demanded. These reinforcements arrived in the course of December 1810, and on the 1st January, 1811, the French flag floated over the place.

Tortosa being subdued, the conqueror true to his prudential system, refrained from prosecuting his successes in Catalonia, until he had again freed Arragon from several bands which had endeavoured to penetrate there, under the command of Villacampa, Empecinado, and the elder Mina. The expulsion of thesethree chiefs occupied Suchet for several months. Villacampa and Empecinado withdrew into the province of Cuença;

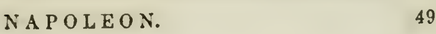
Mina took refuge in the mountains of Navarre, and Suchet immediatelyre-appeared in Catalonia, at the gates of Tarragona.

This town was one of the hot-beds of the insurrection in the North of the Peninsula; a garrison of eight thousand men was shut up in it, certain of being revictualled from the sea. General Suchet invested the place with forty thousand men, and carried it by assault at the end of two months, on the 21st June, 1811.

This fresh and important conquest filled the Emperor with joy, who attached so much the more value to the success of his armies in Spain, since they were more rare and less decisive in that country, than in any other part of Europe. Thus, the already favourable opinion which he had manifested towards General Suchet, was more and more strengthened in the mind of Napoleon, who hastened to raise the conqueror of Tarragona to the dignity of Marshal of the Empire.

The occupation of Mount Sierra followed close upon the taking of Tarragona. At this period, the French arms had decidedly resumed the ascendancy which they had exercised in the finest days of the wars of Germany and Italy. The Spanish regency, fearing that Valencia would meet with the same fate as the strong places of Catalonia, threw a body of ten thousand men into the town, under the orders of Blake, in order to stay the triumphal march of Suchet. The castles of Oropeza and Sagonta were put in a state of defence; but they could make no stand against the French impetuosity. The castle of Oropeza was easily carried, and that of Sagonta, although succoured by Blake, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, was forced to capitulate, on the 26th October, 1811, after several assaults, and the day after a bloody battle, in which the Spanish general, completely defeated, lost more than five thousand men.

There was nothing further to impede a direct attack upon Valencia. It was then that, in order to prevent or retard the fall of this place, Empecinado and Mina, who figured amongst





the greatest of the heroes of national independence endeavoured to operate a diversion in favour of Blake, by fresh incursions in the mountains of Arragon. Marshal Suchet, in order to provide against the danger which might have befallen him on this side, demanded reinforcements, and as soon as he had obtained them, passed the Guadalquiver, overthrew a portion of the Spanish army in the kingdom of Murcia, and compelled the other to take refuge in Valencia. This town heard the name of the pacificator of Saragossa pronounced with the greatest apprehension; she feared more the dreadful casualties of a siege than of being taken by assault. Consequently, as soon as the bombs had commenced their ravages, the population demanded to capitulate. The garrison, eighteen thousand men strong, and its chief, General Blake, were made prisoners.

It was on the 10th January, 1812, that Valencia opened her gates to the French army.

On the 24th of the same month, the Emperor, who always bestowed some striking recompense where eminent services had been performed, published a decree, by which he established, in the kingdom of Valencia, a capital of the value of two hundred millions of francs, to be distributed among the general-officers, officers and soldiers of the army of Arragon. The same decree named Marshal Suchet, Duke of Albufera, with all the revenues attached to this duchy.

During the three years which elapsed between the taking of Saragossa and of Valencia, and which were filled by daily events, of which the result was to establish, with some chance of duration, the French dominion in the provinces in the North East of the Peninsula, the vicissitudes of the war, though less favourable in the West and South for the cause of King Joseph, furnished nevertheless the opportunity for fresh victories to several of the generals whom the Emperor had placed at the head of his intrepid phalanxes, in the southern provinces of the Spanish monarchy and in the kingdom of Portugal.

After the taking of Corunna, in January, 1809, Marshal Soult had invaded this last kingdom, whilst Marshal Ney pursued the conquest and pacification of Galicia and the Asturias, and Marshal Victor beat at Medellin, the army of Estremadura, commanded by General Cuesta.

The progress of Marshal Soult in Portugal, was most brilliant and rapid; but it was not of long duration. He had beaten Romana on the 6th March, on the banks of the Tamega, and possessed himself successively of Chavès, Braga, Guimaraens and Oporto. This last town, the second in Portugal, had made vain demonstrations of defence; but had submitted after the first assault, on the 20th March, 1809, the day following the battle of Medellin, and two days after that of Ciudad Real, in which General Sebastiani completely routed the Duke of Infantado.

These almost simultaneous successes of the divers chiefs of

the French army, were nevertheless unproductive of any result in the minds of the population, who became more and more irritated instead of intimidated. A general insurrection broke out in Estremadura; the junta of Badajoz replied with a haughtiness amounting to violence, to the summons of the conqueror of Medellin. At the same time, Wellington, at the head of a body of thirty thousand men, marched from Lisbon towards Oporto, in order to regain this important conquest from Marshal Soult, who, in consequence of the rising in Estremadura, was deprived of the co-operation of Marshal Victor, and was besides menaced, from the side of Tamega, by the Portuguese General Sylveira, who was about to reinforce Beresford. In this perilous position, the French army seemed destined to be inevitably subjected a third time to an affront like those of Baylen and Cintra; but on this occasion it had for a leader one of the most skilful and intelligent captains of the age. "Soult," says the author of 'The Wars of the Revolution,' "saved it by the promptitude and aptness of his measures. He unhesitatingly sacrificed, arms, ammunition and provision; and hastened to gain Guimaraens; then, leaving Braga to the left, where Wellington threatened to fall upon him, he plunged into the mountains which give rise to the Cavado. At the end of two days, they reached Ruivaens, at which point the road branched off to Chavès, where Sylveira was posted, and which offered also a profound mountain pass, which ran close upon the bed of the torrent and terminated at Montalegro. The whole army betook itself to these narrow defiles, where two men could scarcely walk abreast. At their feet, the Cavado, swollen by a violent rain, rolled sullenly on; above their heads were suspended rocks whence descended an incessant shower of musketry. Presently the road, already so wearisome, became obstructed from time to time by streams which had overflown their steep banks. Soult surmounted all these obstacles; and succeeded in concealing his march from the two hostile generals, and reaching



the frontier, whence he gained Orense. Only a few men were lost at the entrance of the defile of Cavado. The cavalry preserved its horses, and the infantry its arms. This retreat, superior even to that of Moore, is one of the Marshal's titles to glory. Pressed, as had been the English General, between two armies, superior in numbers, he evaded them both. He passed through the midst of an insurgent population; he knew how to inspire his soldiers with sufficient confidence to make them endure with admirable constancy, the privations, the storms and difficulties of a route where they were escorted by a rolling fire, to which they could not respond."

Marshal Soult, thus escaped as by a miracle from Wellington, Beresford, and Sylveira, who flattered themselves with

having secured him in the mountains of Portugal, suddenly reappeared in Spain to fall again upon Romana, whom he forced to raise the siege of Lugo, with the greatest precipitation. Ney, who had obtained the same results in the Asturias as Suchet in Arragon, advanced to meet Soult, and concerted with him to achieve the destruction of the army of Romana, and subdue the insurgents of Galicia. But the military movements which the enemy was preparing in the centre of the Peninsula, soon obliged these two marshals to modify their combinations and to change their plans.

Wellington, not having been able to succeed in his expedition against Soult, had returned towards Estremadura, where he hoped to be more fortunate against the division of Victor. He had quitted his camp of Abrantes, at the head of twenty-four thousand men, supported, on the right, by the Spanish army of Cuesta, thirty-six thousand men strong, and on the left, by the legion of Sir Robert Wilson, composed of four thousand men. He could also reckon on the assistance of a body of twenty-two thousand men, commanded by Venegas, and who was ready to march into the plains of La Mancha, whilst the Duke of Del Parque manœuvered in the North, with the remains of Romana's troops, and Beresford operated on the frontiers of Estremadura, with a body of fifteen thousand Portuguese, destined to act as a reserve. It was in fact in the midst of numerous Guerillas, and surrounded by a population risen in the cause of national independence, that all these English, Spanish, and Portuguese armies were about to unite their efforts, not merely to fall upon Marshal Victor, but to surprise the capital itself, and snatch Madrid from King Joseph.

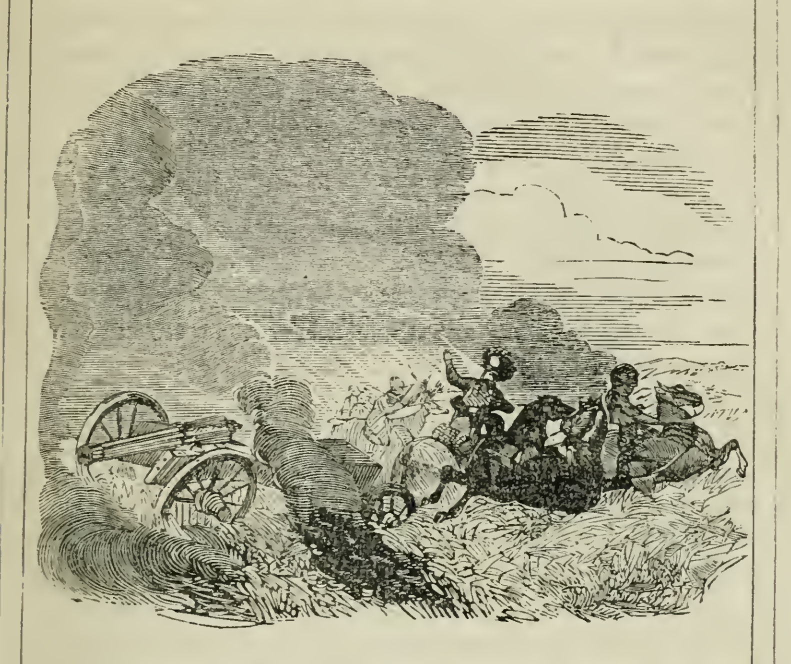
This latter comprehended the danger which threatened him. He ordered, in his turn, a grand concentration of the bodies of the French army, on the Tagus, towards Talavera de la Reyna. But, without giving Soult and Mortier time to effect a junction, Joseph, preferring the advice of Victor to that of

Jourdan, his major-general, and not even waiting for the arrival of Sebastiani, who was to come from Toledo to join them, engaged in battle. This impatience preserved the hostile army from certain defeat. The Anglo-Spaniards valiantly defended their positions, and preserved them. Their loss, equal to that of the French, amounted to about eight thousand men in killed and wounded; and, although in this battle, the French arms were not completely victorious, the hostile armies laid greater stress upon this affair than was needful; indeed the day of Talavera was celebrated as eminently glorious for Wellington, in Spain and England, and all the countries of Europe where an inveterate jealousy of France existed. But Soult soon came to disturb the songs of triumph which resounded in the British camp. He occupied Placencia at the moment when Wellington, whom the issue of the battle of Talavera had caused to be named Generalissimo of the Anglo-Spanish and Portuguese armies, believed him to be still in the environs of Benavento. Having joined Mortier, and operated his junction with Victor, at Oropeza, Soult attacked the hostile army, on the 8th August, 1809, at the bridge of Arzobispo, under the command of Cuesta, and this time, the success was far from being doubtful; although, during the encounter, the Marshal had for a moment some doubts as to the result of the fight. A cloud of dust had arisen which so completely prevented him from distinguishing the bodies which took part in the action, that no longer perceiving the regiments of cavalry, which he had directed against the Anglo-Spanish infantry, and imagining them dispersed by a charge of the Duke of Albuqureque who possessed the advantage of numbers, he took into his head to fire into this cloud, fearing that it concealed from his view the enemies' victorious cavalry. Soon the uncertainty ceased. The Spaniards were beaten, and the fire, catching the grass, and spreading to the wood, exhibited, across a vast conflagration, the entire rout and precipitate flight of the troops of Wellington.



SOULT.





The result of the battle of Arzobispo was to throw Cuesta back upon the mountains of La Mancha and Estramadura, and to force the English General to press his retreat upon Badajoz. On his side, Marshal Ney, returning from Galicia, beat at the pass of Banos, the Portuguese regiment of Sir Robert Wilson, three days after the battle of Almonacid, which took place the day after that of Arzobispo, on which General Sebastiani destroyed the *corps* of General Venegas with great slaughter and the loss of four thousand prisoners, a considerable number of guns and carriages, and much baggage and ammunition. The remains of the legion took refuge in the passes of the Sierra Morena.

However, Spanish constancy maintained itself in the midst of all these reverses. Ballesteros, who began to appear, had made fresh levies in the Asturias, and had led them to the Duke of Del Parque, who had possessed himself of Salamanca

after having obtained a slight advantage over a detachment of the division of Marshal Ney, whom the Emperor had called into Germany, and who had just been replaced by General Marchand in the command of the army of Galicia.

Inflamed by this trifling success, and always prompt at recovering from their defeats, the Spaniards wished to attempt a fresh irruption into La Mancha, and again to try and gain possession of Madrid. Areizaga, at the head of sixty thousand men, advanced on the capital, following the direction of Toledo and Aranjuez, whilst the Duke Del Parque effected his movement on the road to Burgos.

Marshal Soult was the commander-in-chief of the French army, as well as successor to Marshal Jourdan in the functions of major-general. Having united with him Victor, Mortier and Sebastiani, he marched straight upon the Spaniards, whom he caused to fall back before him as far as Ocana, where the Spanish army was annihilated, on the 18th November, 1809. During this memorable battle, Areizaga, instead of fighting at the head of his troops, retired to the clock-house of the town of Ocana, and there assisted as a mere spectator, in the destruction of his army. In addition to a great number of killed and wounded, he lost five and twenty stand of colours, twelve hundred carriages, thirty-six thousand muskets, three thousand horses, mules, and draught oxen, forty-five pieces of artillery, and left thirty thousand prisoners in the power of the conqueror. The French troops, whose loss did not exceed seventeen hundred in killed and wounded, had, by this time, acquired such contempt for their foes, that whole troops of the captives, after being deprived of their arms, were set at liberty, and scornfully told to "return home, and abandon war as an art they were unfit for."

The defeat of Areizaga, compelled the retreat of the Duke of Albuquerque, who had remained in Estremadura in order to support his left, and who fled to Teruxillo. The Duke Del Parque, equally compromised by the disaster of Ocana,



commenced a retreat and reached Ciudad Rodrigo, not, however, without meeting with a severe check. Being pursued by Kellerman, he was overtaken at the bridge of Alba de Tormes, and defeated on the 26th November, almost without attempting to defend himself; his whole army having thrown aside its arms, and taken to flight at the first charge. In this rout he lost three thousand men, and the whole of his guns and baggage.

The time seemed now to have arrived for dealing a decisive blow to the Spanish insurrection and to the intervention of the English. The Emperor might well have done so, since his triumphs in Germany and the restoration of peace in the North, enabled him to direct his victorious troops towards the Peninsula. The French army, in Spain, was therefore increased to three hundred thousand men, in the opening months of 1810, and placed under the orders of King Joseph,

whose supreme command over it was but nominal, being in reality exercised by the major-general Marshal Soult.

The object of the first operations was the attack of the Sierra Morena, all the passes of which were defended, but which was nevertheless taken in one day (the 20th January, 1810), despite the vigorous resistance of the Spaniards. From this period, the south of the Peninsula was entirely opened to the French army. Grenada, Seville, Malaga, Murcia, Olivenza, and Badajoz, fell successively beneath the power of the Imperial arms. But Cadiz resisted; Cadiz, the seat of that famous democratic constitution, which directed a national war, under the cannon of revolutionary France, and in the name of a king, whose cause was no other than that of aristocracy and monarchy. This last barrier of Spanish independence was subjected to a strict blockade on the land side; but the sea remained to her; the sea which brought her provisions, ammunition, men, money, and what was perhaps of more value, military skill, and good counsel from the English; by means of which she was enabled to make an efficient defence against Marshal Victor.

Whilst Soult was triumphantly marching through Andalusia, pursuing the remains of the Spanish army, besieging and taking places, Massena, decked with the laurels of Essling and Wagram, entered Spain, and passing through the province of Leon, at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, invaded Portugal, in the hope of expelling the English General. But he had reckoned on the co-operation of the army of Andalusia, which, however, failed him. Soult, withheld by the Anglo-Spaniards of Algesiras and Gibraltar, who incessantly menaced Andalusia and the adjoining provinces, was unable to make any diversion in favour of the Army of Portugal. At first Massena's operations appeared very auspicious. The town of Ciudad Rodrigo, after a brave resistance, was compelled to surrender on the 11th July, 1810; on the 24th of the same month, the division of General Crawfurd was dislodged from

Almeda, and made to fall back upon the main body of the British and Portuguese. The French did not think fit to profit by their successes until September. As they advanced, Wellington slowly retreated until he arrived at the Sierra de Busaco, where he determined to halt and give battle. An engagement therefore took place on the 27th, in which the French were repulsed with a loss of four thousand five hundred men in killed and wounded, while that of the Anglo-Spaniards amounted to about thirteen hundred. The English general, nevertheless still continued to fall back; and early in October reached the lines of Torres Vedras. Massena perceiving that it would be impossible with his limited means to force these formidable works, began his return towards Spain, in November, and sustained a most disastrous retreat. Wellington pursued the French army as far as the Spanish territory. "Every horror," says Colonel Napier, "that could make war hideous, attended this dreadful march! Distress! conflagrations, death in all modes! from wounds, fatigue, water, the flames, and starvation. On every side was unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance! I myself saw a peasant hounding on his dog to devour the dead and the dying; and the spirit of cruelty once unchained, smote even the brute creation."

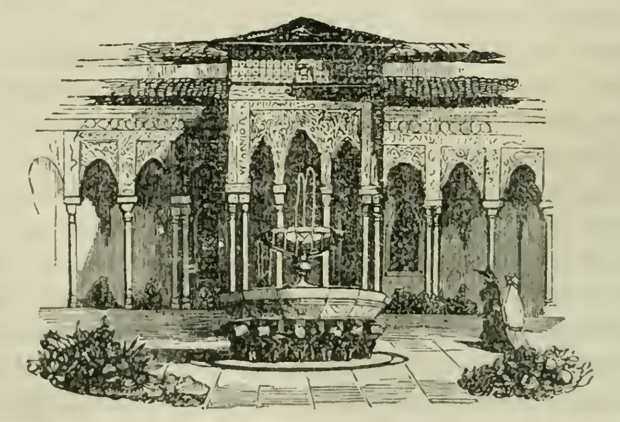
In the mean time, Olivenza had been taken by the British, and Badajoz invested.

Soult, being informed of the progress of the English, hastened to attack Beresford at Albuera. About an equal number of men were slain on either side; the allies, however, compelled their enemies to retire from the field.

King Joseph, disgusted with the independent conduct of the French Marshals and Generals, and being possessed of no authority, resolved to renounce his throne; and, taking with him an escort of five thousand men, passed the Spanish frontier, and hastened to Paris. Napoleon, who perceived the evil consequences that must arise from this precipitate act of his brother, after considerable persuasion, and it is even said threats,

induced him to return to his dominions. The aspect of affairs, however, had already began to decline in Spain.

The English carried Ciudad Rodrigo by assault, on the 19th January, 1812, after a twelve days' siege; while the storming of Badajoz took place in the night of the 5th April. The loss of life on both sides was immense. Soult had marched to its relief; but did not arrive until the day after the capitulation, upon which he immediately retreated towards Seville, where he occupied himself in pacifying Andalusia, and keeping the partisans of La Ronda, and the camp of St Roch in check. But the Anglo-Spaniards pursued their success, and advanced upon Salamanca, where they gave battle to Marmont on the 22nd July, and having routed, pursued him to Valladolid. They then, still headed by Wellington marched for Estremadura, and thence to La Mancha, beat the army of the centre occupied Madrid, and forced Joseph to retire to Valencia and, place himself under the protection of Suchet. From that moment the occupation of Andalusia by the French, was no longer possible. The blockade of Cadiz was abandoned, and Marshal Soult, effecting his retreat by way of Grenada and Murcia, joined Suchet near Alicante, and afterwards united himself with the army of the centre, in order again to take the road to Madrid, and prepare for reconquering this capital.



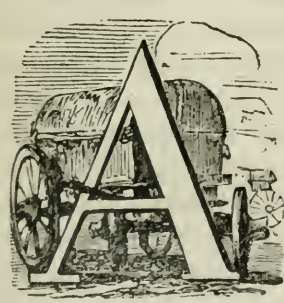


MASSENA.



CHAPTER V.

Rupture with the Emperor Alexander.



ALEXANDER had long since ceased to regard the friendship of the great man as a blessing of Heaven. Of the solemn cordiality of Tilsit, and the more recent meeting at Erfurt, there remained in the soul of the czar naught but the displeasure and resentment arising from extinct affection and deceived hopes.

Whilst continental Europe had appeared to him sufficiently strong to continue the war of principles against the French Revolution, personified in Napoleon, the autocrat had lent his ear to the representations of the English cabinet, and, had

eagerly joined the coalitions of 1805 and 1806 against France, marching now behind Austria, now in the rear of the Prussians. But Austerlitz and Friedland had wearied him. Susceptible of exaltation, and endowed with an intelligence sufficiently elevated to comprehend that the greater part of the things which ancient Europe was so indignant at, were but providential necessities,* he had detached himself from the past, in the interviews of the Niemen, by withdrawing from the English alliance, in order to embrace the policy of a new man who had proclaimed the continental blockade. If the star of France did not turn pale; if the fortune of Napoleon remained firm, and always in the ascendant, it was better to unite with him and partake the European supremacy, than obstinately to resist, and be beaten by his invincible phalanxes, for the sake of a cause which Heaven seemed to abandon. It was these reflections which made Alexander so affectionate at Tilsit, and so enthusiastic at Erfurt; without causing him, however, to renounce the chances of a political change, of a return to the ancient European system, whenever circumstances might require it, or would permit him.

But Napoleon, always relying upon the sincerity of the sentiments which Alexander manifested, and which he himself evinced, had marched to the accomplishment of his views, and hastened events in favour of the French domination and preponderance, without disturbing himself too much at the displeasure which the extension of his power might cause the potentate who held sway at St. Petersburg. Thus the aggression of Austria in 1809, by exposing the Emperor Francis to fresh defeats, had forced him to submit to increased

" One would never credit," said Napoleon at St. Helena (*Memorial*), "what I had to contend with in him; he maintained to me that hereditary succession was an abuse in sovereignty, and I had to spend more than an hour, and make use of all my eloquence and logic to prove to him that this hereditary succession constituted the repose and happiness of nations. Perhaps, indeed, he puzzled me!" The choice of the people, the child of the Revolution, arguing with the son of kings, the leader of the monarchical coalitions, in order to convert him to the dogma of hereditary succession! How strange a spectacle! what an exchange of parts!

dismemberments, which had advanced the limits of the French empire almost to the frontiers of Russia: and this vicinity presented dangers which could not sufficiently compensate, in the eyes of the autocrat, for the cession which was made him of a portion of Gallicia, by one of the articles of the treaty of Vienna. But that which vexed and annoyed the czar above all, was the existence of the grand-duchy of Varsovia, the creation of which he could not prevent at Tilsit, and in which his apprehensions and mistrusts constantly pictured to him the kingdom of Poland ready to rise from her ruins. Therefore, in order to gain some security for himself in this respect, he did not cease to manœuvre, in the cabinet of the Tuileries, in order to obtain of Napoleon an express and solemn declaration that he would never attempt to re-establish the Polish nationality. Once, he imagined his most ardent desire accomplished. On the 5th January, 1810, the French ambassador, Coulaincourt, duke of Vicenza, signed a form of convention, which formally put forth :—1st. that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established; 2nd. that the names of Poland and of Polish should be forbidden on all occasions; 3rd. that the duchy of Varsovia should never receive any territorial aggrandizement from any portion of the ancient kingdom of Poland; 4th. that the convention should be rendered public.

Coulaincourt was not of that diplomatic school of which the master has said, " that speech had been given to man solely in order to assist him in concealing his ideas." An aptitude for business, and skill in negociations, were in him, allied to a great elevation of character, and the finesse of his mind always remained subject to the rectitude of his soul. He bore in mind that at the time of the proposals of marriage between Napoleon and the Grand-Duchess Anne, he had been authorized to promise a similar declaration to that which Alexander afterwards required of him, and he consented to sign the convention which had been presented to him, without thinking

of the modifications which the rupture of the family alliance and the course of events had produced in the views and combinations of the Emperor of the French. It must also be confessed that the Duke of Vicenza, in gaining the esteem and affection of the czar by his polished manners and eminent qualities, had, in his turn, allowed himself to be somewhat thrown off his guard by his great intimacy with the brilliant Alexander.

Napoleon refused to approve of that which his ambassador had agreed to. Dissatisfied with Alexander, who did but half execute the continental blockade, and having no longer any motive for sacrificing to him one of his most ancient and most cherished ideas of European policy, he remained firmly attached to the opinion which he had long before expressed, and which he had since not ceased to profess, "that the re-establishment of Poland was desirable for all the western powers, and that as long as this kingdom should remain in subjection, Europe would be without frontiers on the side of Asia." The czar nevertheless insisted, and sent a fresh form of declaration, which only served to reproduce the first, under a less clear and explicit form. Napoleon, on his side, persisted and energetically repulsed the modified proposal of the Russian monarch. Therefore, prince Kourakin, upon receiving orders from St. Petersburgh, declared to the Emperor of the French that his prolonged refusal would be taken for a certain indication of his intentions in favour of Poland. But Napoleon, more annoyed than intimidated by this communication of the Muscovite negociator, hastily replied: "What does Russia pretend by such language? Does she wish for war?... If I had wished to re-establish Poland, I would have said so, and would not have withdrawn my troops from Germany.... But I will not dishonour myself by declaring that the kingdom of Poland, shall never be re-established, render myself ridiculous by speaking the language of divinity, nor injure the memory of my name, by placing the seal to this act of Machiavelian

policy; for to declare that Poland should never be re-established, is in a manner to avow the sharing of that kingdom. No, I cannot engage to arm myself against people who have well served me, who have evinced a constant good will, and the greatest devotion. I cannot say to Frenchmen; 'Your blood must flow in order to place Poland under the yoke of Russia.' If I now signed that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established, it would imply that I had intended re-establishing it, and the disgrace of a like declaration would be effaced by the fact to which it gave the lie."

The moment had not arrived for Alexander to assume a hostile attitude; but no longer expecting any thing from the French alliance, when Napoleon refused, on one side, to pronounce decisively against the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and inclined, on the other, to the Austrian policy, in regard to the Eastern question, by limiting the concessions made at Erfurt, to the possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, by which he was excluded from the right bank and the mouths of the Danube, the czar, who had hitherto allowed himself to violate the continental blockade, secretly and by contraband manœuvres, no longer feared to infringe it openly in his official acts. On the 15th January, 1811, he published an *ukase* which prohibited French products, such as wines and articles of luxury, and which favoured the importation into his dominions of colonial produce by a considerable abatement of the tariffs in their favour. A distinction was also made in the mode of punishing any infringement of the ukase: French merchandise was to be burnt, and English or Colonial productions only confiscated.

Napoleon was violently irritated on reading the official notification of this act. "Hatred alone," said he to the Russian ambassador, "could have counselled the ukase of the 15th January. Do they think us insensible to honour? the French nation is strong and ardent; she will esteem herself dishonoured when she learns that her productions are to be burnt in the

Russian ports, whilst the English produce will be confiscated only. I do not fear to tell your excellency, that I had rather receive a blow on the cheek, than see the produce of the industry and labour of my subjects burnt. What greater injury could Russia inflict on France? Not being able to invade our territory, she attacks us in our commerce and industry."

The Emperor did not confine himself to this strong expression of his dissatisfaction; he ordered the Duke of Vicenza to demand the repeal of the obnoxious ukase. But Alexander had not boldly advanced thus far in order to cover himself with shame, by cowardly recoiling at the first protestation of France. So important a measure had not been taken without having been long and maturely deliberated upon; before rendering it public, the cabinet of St. Petersburg had indubitably foreseen its tendency, its consequences and effects upon the French cabinet. The reply could not be doubtful. England again held sway in Russia, since France had refused, through the mouth of Napoleon, to proclaim the annihilation of Poland irrevocable, and to permit Muscovite ambition to cross the Danube and establish itself at the gates of Constantinople. The preference given to the house of Austria, in the choice of a consort, had also not a little contributed to detach Alexander from the political alliance with Napoleon.

Having no longer any hope of sharing with him the empire of the continent, or of placing Russian policy under the formidable protection of France, in regard to the double question of Turkey and Poland, the czar had no longer any reason to attach himself to the system of the hero of the democracy, and to sacrifice to him his tendencies and primitive affinities. When, therefore, he was perfectly convinced that nothing was to be gained by the man of the Revolution, he naturally returned to the anti-revolutionary principles which had formerly urged Souwarow to the frontiers of France, and hurried himself to Austerlitz and Friedland. This return of Alexander to the

English alliance was the more easy for him, since he thereby satisfied not only the political opinions of the upper classes of his empire, but the material interests of all his subjects, the commerce and industry of all Russia.

The ukase, therefore, remained as it had been published, and the considerable preparations for war by which it had been preceded, were continued. Napoleon armed in his turn. The garrison of Dantzic was reinforced, and numerous masses traversed Germany, and were quartered in the duchy of Varsovia, in order to be in readiness to take the field the moment war should be declared. Alexander, upon this, in order to gain time, demanded explications; he was told in reply, that France and her allies were taking measures against the hostile designs which his military preparations caused to be suspected. He persisted that all his intentions were pacific; but, at the same time renewing all his grievances, by insisting on the declaration relative to Poland, and on the restoration of the Duchy of Oldenburg, which Napoleon had been obliged to invade, it having become the most active seat of European smuggling, and threatened to annul the continental blockade.

Thus, the rupture really existed since 1811, in the minds of the two Emperors. They could no longer agree on the more important points of their respective policies; and it was, therefore, imperative, that sooner or later they should come to blows. However, Napoleon, who always strove to cast on his adversaries the responsibility of the war, and who seemed to march but with regret to those fields of battle, which constantly served to increase the glory of his name, Napoleon would not commence hostilities with his friend of Erfurt, without seeking to bring about a reconciliation between them on which depended the repose of Europe. He wrote to him several times with this aim in view. "This," said he to him in one of his letters, "is the repetition of that which I beheld in Prussia, in 1806, and at Vienna, in 1809. For myself I shall remain the personal friend of your majesty, even if that fatality which misleads

all Europe should one day place arms in the hands of our two nations. I shall regulate myself solely by your majesty; I shall never commence the attack; my troops will not advance until your majesty shall have broken the treaty of Tilsit. I shall be the first to disarm, if your majesty will re-establish the confidence that existed between us. Have you ever had cause to repent thereof?"

This moderate language made the Emperor Alexander believe that Napoleon feared an open rupture, and that he was not ready for war. He was confirmed in this opinion by the reports which M. de Romanzoff received from Paris, and which represented the Emperor of the French as disposed to make any sacrifices to avoid a fresh collision on the continent. "The opportunity was favourable," said the Russian diplomat, "and it was only requisite to seize it; it was necessary to shew one's self and to speak firm; the Duke of Oldenburg would indemnify them; they would obtain Dantzic, and Russia would create an immense respect for herself throughout Europe."

These insinuations and hostile counsels flattered the personal inclinations of the czar too highly, for him to remain deaf to them. He easily allowed himself to be persuaded that Napoleon was not in a condition to wish for war, or to make it with success, and, consequently, he directed fresh bodies of troops towards the Vistula, causing them to follow a note which his ambassador at Paris was charged to present to the Emperor, and in which he added, to his former requisitions, the abandonment of Dantzic, and the evacuation of the Duchy of Varsovia.

"I then believed that war was declared," says Napoleon; "since I had long been unaccustomed to a like tone. I was not in the habit of letting myself be forestalled; I could have marched into Russia at the head of the rest of Europe; the enterprise was popular, the cause was European: it was the last effort which remained for France to make; her destinies,

and those of the new European system depended on the struggle." (*Memorial.*)

Indeed, the providential re-action which new France exercised, by the power of her arms, over ancient Europe, had nearly reached its limit; but before ending, she had to complete her labours and her glory. It was not enough that she had punished, in Vienna and Berlin, those who had signed the treaty of Pilnitz, and that the soldiers of the Revolution had been mixed up by conquest with the servile population of Prussia and Austria: the great nation had still something to perform for the instruction of the world. The alarms which Souwarow once spread over our frontiers, were to be carried back into the bosom of the Russian empire, into the ancient capital of the czars, into Moscow herself, the holy city; and it was said that French civilization, provoked by the obstinate perseverance of the proud champions of the past, would go triumphantly, in warlike costume, following in the footsteps of the genius of conquest, to visit the barbarian in the midst of his deserts, and that she would there cause the slavish races to envy the ray of intelligence and pride which stamps the forehead of the noble son of France. Destiny will be accomplished: the Revolution will yet seat itself at the hearth of the Russian peasant. And, like those mysterious beings to whose presence a secret influence is attributed, of which time alone gives evidence, she will leave everywhere, on her passage, traces which will be at first imperceptible, but which will not be effaced by the rigour of the climate, and which events will, sooner or later, cause to be acknowledged.

Let destiny then be accomplished!... "Napoleon is about to march into Russia, at the head of the rest of Europe." It is at the Kremlin that the Gods have marked the limit of his conquests, and Alexander calls him thither by his provoking messages, by the solemn violation of the continental blockade, by his pretensions to Dantzic and Poland.

With the greater part of the population of France, and

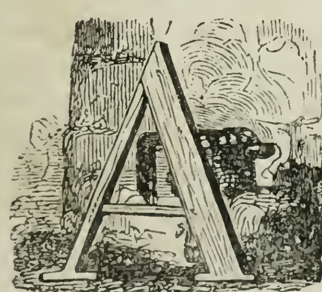
especially with the army, the threatened war was exceedingly popular. Russia, the most extensive empire in Europe, it was fondly imagined was on the point of falling before the power of the Great Nation; and England would then be left to struggle, unaided, for mastery with France. It was deemed a certain pledge of victory, since the Emperor himself, was to lead his veteran legions to the new scene of triumph.





CHAPTER VI.

Campaign of Russia. (1812)



FTER having in vain endeavoured to effect an honourable reconciliation with Alexander, Napoleon thought of preparing for the struggle. Before quitting Paris and officially informing France, that the oaths of Erfurt were but princely toys, and that Alexander forced him to recommence in the North of Europe, the struggle which had existed for twenty years between the ancient and modern political systems, Napoleon caused divers measures to be adopted by the great bodies of the empire, which might announce to his people the vast expedition for which he was preparing, the distant war which was about to burst forth.

On the 23rd December, 1811, the senate had placed at the disposal of the minister of war, a contingent of a hundred and twenty thousand men exclusive of the conscription of 1812. On the 13th March following, a new senatorial act organized the national guard and divided it into three *bans*.

A few days after, on the 17th, sixty thousand men of the first *ban* were declared disposable for the formation of an army for the defence of the interior.

Not satisfied with disposing every thing for war in the bosom of the Empire, Napoleon, who wished to march into Russia at the head of the rest of Europe, busied himself in forming and cementing, externally, powerful allies. Two treaties were concluded to this effect; the one with Prussia and the other with Austria on the 24th February and 14th March 1812. The most amicable assurances were then lavished by the courts of Vienna and Berlin on the victorious potentate, whom fortune did not yet seem to menace with approaching treason.

All the disposable French troops, with thirty thousand Austrians, fifteen thousand Prussians; also numerous armies from Italy and the states of the Rhenish confederation, were equipped ready for marching at the shortest notice. The Poles were also appealed to, and the Abbé de Pradt was despatched to Poland, in order to offer "Liberty and Independence" to the inhabitants. In a letter to his minister, Napoleon said: "The object of your mission is to enlighten, encourage, and direct the operations of the Polish patriots. The misfortunes and weakness of the Poles were occasioned by an aristocracy knowing neither law nor restraint. At that period, as at present, the nobility were powerful, the citizens oppressed, and the people of no account. Notwithstanding these disorders, a love of liberty and independence prevailed throughout the country, and long supported its feeble existence. These sentiments have gained strength by time and oppression. Patriotism is an attribute of the Poles; and exists even among members of the highest families. . . Poland shall be free and

independent! As to the choice of her sovereign, that point must be decided by treaty.... The Emperor lays no claim to the throne for himself or his family. In the great work of restoration, he has the happiness of the Poles alone in view, and the tranquillity of Europe.... Should pecuniary resources be wanted, his Majesty will assist the Polish treasury by assignments on the domains which he possesses in Poland and Hanover. With respect to Saxony, there will be no sacrifice without compensation. Saxony can attach but little importance to the sovereignty of the Duchy of Warsaw. As it now exists, it is a precarious and troublesome possession. It is but a fragment of Poland; yet it places Saxony in a false position with respect to Austria, Prussia, and Russia... The Emperor is aware of the difficulties he will have to encounter in his endeavours to bring about the re-establishment of Poland. That great political work will oppose the apparent and immediate interests of the allies. The French empire, however, will make great sacrifices of territory, by way of indemnity, for the cessions to be made for the re-establishment of the Polish kingdom."

It was from the bosom of that France, of which he had made a "citadel," which appeared impregnable, and across that Germany whose sovereigns were at his feet, that Napoleon wended his way towards the frontiers of the Russian empire, in order to place himself at the head of the most formidable army which the genius of conquest had ever led. Fouché, Cardinal Fesch, and other noted councillors strove to dissuade Napoleon from the impending war; but the Emperor was confident, and seems to have entertained no doubt of his success. "The war," he said, "is a wise measure, called for by the true interests of France and the general welfare. The great power I already have attained, compels me to assume an universal dictatorship. My views are not ambitious. I desire to obtain no further acquisition; and reserve to myself only the glory of doing good, and the blessings of posterity.

There must be but one European code; one court of appeal; one system of money, weights and measures; equal justice and uniform laws throughout the continent. Europe must constitute but one great nation, and Paris must be the capital of the world."

Leaving Paris with the Empress, on the 9th May, 1812, on his way to join the grand army, then forming on the Polish frontier, the Imperial pair seemed to be accompanied by a continued triumph. Ringing of bells, music, and the most enthusiastic greetings awaited them wherever they appeared; not merely in France, but throughout the whole of Germany. Quickly passing through Metz, Mayence and Frankfort, they arrived on the 17th at Dresden, which capital had been appointed by Napoleon as the rendezvous for the kings and princes in alliance with him. Among them were the Emperor and Empress of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Kings of Saxony, Naples, Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Westphalia, the Elector of Baden, and a troop of princes of inferior grade. It was a complete overflow of crowned heads in the capital of Saxony. Napoleon there held his "drawing-room of kings;" the various haughty rulers seemed to have met there in order to vie with each other in their adulation towards the head of the great empire. The pride of ancient races, and the vanities of modern families seemed to be equally abased before him. At sight of this superb concourse of courtiers and magnificent flatterers, who had hastened from all parts, even from the heights of the throne, in order to associate themselves with the general prostration which the Emperor had remarked every where around him on his journey, one would have said that all these illustrious adulators had the most unshaken faith in him, and that his power appeared to them to participate of the immortality which was assured to his name.

"O ye," exclaims M. de Pradt, "who wish to form a just idea of the pre-eminence exercised by Napoleon in Europe, transport yourselves in imagination to Dresden, and there con-

template him at the period of his highest glory, so nearly bordering on his fall!

"The Emperor occupied the grand apartments of the palace, whither he had transferred a considerable portion of his household. There he gave grand dinners, and, with the exception of the first Sunday, when the King of Saxony had a gala, Napoleon's parties were always attended by the assembled sovereigns and their families, agreeably to invitations issued by the Grand-Marshal.

"The Emperor's levées were held here, as at the Tuileries, at nine o'clock. Then with what timid submission did crowds of princes, mingling with the courtiers, and often scarcely



perceived among them, anxiously await the moment for presenting themselves before the arbiter of their destinies.

"Napoleon was there the king of kings. On him were turned the regards of all men. The throng of strangers, of military men and courtiers, the arrival and departure of couriers, the crowd constantly gathered round the gates of the palace to catch a glimpse of the great man, or following his footsteps, watching his looks, and listening with awe to his lightest words,—form a picture the most sublime and magnificent that could be dedicated to the memory of Napoleon." Napoleon took care to conciliate his father-in-law, the Emperor Francis, by always giving him the precedence over the other sovereign princes assembled. The Emperor of Austria could not fail to be gratified at this. But amidst all the dignitaries assembled none interested the Saxon public so much as the Emperor Napoleon himself; since it was for him and by him that the present assembly was collected. Napoleon, when visible, was always the most prominent figure of the group; and when absent, every eye was fixed on the door watching for his re-appearance.

The Emperor was usually occupied in his cabinet with the military and political arrangements of the approaching war, and left the other crowned heads to amuse themselves by attending the fêtes, banquets and other entertainments of various kinds all given at the expense of the French Monarch. The young Empress appeared very prominently at Dresden, and was the innocent cause of her mother, the Empress of Austria, feeling deeply mortified at having to play a subordinate character on the occasion.

Napoleon, before leaving the gay court of Dresden, despatched the Count de Narbonne to the Emperor Alexander to make a fresh attempt at negociation, in order to spare the shedding of more blood. On his return, Narbonne stated that "he had found the Russians neither depressed nor boasting; that the result of all the replies of the Emperor was,—that they preferred war to a disgraceful peace; that they would take special care not to risk a battle with an

adversary so formidable; and, finally, that they were determined to make every sacrifice to protract the war, and drive back the invader."

The Emperor and his consort left Dresden on the 29th May, and separated at Prague; the Empress to return to Paris, and Napoleon to proceed to Dantzic, in order to consult with Rapp on several matters relating to the Russian war, of which this General had expressed his disapprobation. Rapp, himself, gives the following narrative of this interesting visit:—

"On quitting Dresden, the Emperor came to Dantzic. I reckoned on a *dressing*, for, to speak truly, I had treated very cavalierly both his custom-house and his officers; I had even put in limbo one of the directors, who had ventured on refractory airs with me. He knew, likewise, that I had not been over scrupulous with English merchandise and colonial produce. Indeed, I saw every one so miserable, that I had not the heart to be severe. In addition to all this I had made pretty free with the Russian expedition in one of my reports. In the commencement of 1812, I wrote to the Emperor thus: 'If your Majesty experience any reverse, be assured the Prussians and Germans will rise *en masse* to shake off the yoke. It will be a crusade, all your allies will abandon you. The King of Bavaria, upon whom you confide so much will join the coalition. I except only the King of Saxony, he, perhaps, from inclination, might remain faithful to you; but he would be compelled by his subjects to make common cause with your enemies.'

"The King of Naples, intrusted with the command of the cavalry of the army, had preceded the Emperor, and appears to me to view not more favourably than I the issue of the campaign about to be commenced. Murat was, besides, very dissatisfied that he had not been asked to Dresden: he told me he was more ashamed of being a king, such as he was, than he would be, if reduced to a simple captain of grenadiers.

"When Napoleon arrived," proceeds Rapp, "Murat and I

were the first to receive him. Being much fatigued, after putting a few questions to me on Danztic, he dismissed us immediately; but, in a little time, sent for me alone.

"As soon as he had finished dressing, the first thing he spoke to me about was the alliance lately concluded with Prussia and Austria. I, who governed in the country of one of these powers, could not, for my soul, forbear telling him, that, as allies, we did infinite mischief, as was evident from the accounts I daily received of the conduct of our troops. The Emperor tossed his head, as you know was his practice when not in the very best of humours. After a short interval of silence, and laying aside his *thee-thou*ing, he replied: 'Monsieur le General, all this is but a torrent, which must be allowed to roll past; it will not continue: we must first know if Alexander is decidedly for war.' Then, changing entirely the subject of conversation, he asked, 'Have you not observed something extraordinary in Murat? For my part, I find him quite changed. Is he ill?'—'Sire,' answered I, 'Murat is not ill, but in low spirits.'—'Low spirits! and wherefore? Is he not satisfied with being a king?'—'Sire, Murat says he is not one.'—'It is his own fault! Why is he a Neapolitan? why is he not a Frenchman? When he is in his own kingdom he does nothing but blunder: he favours the commerce of England, and that I will not permit.' Now, thought I, comes my turn; but it was a false alarm, the conversation dropped there; and, when about to take my leave, he said to me, in the kindest manner, 'Rapp, you sup with me this evening.' At supper were Murat and Berthier, who had also been invited. Before seating ourselves at table, our conversation ran upon the war with Russia; and, as I had in my room a bust of the Queen of Prussia, the Emperor reproached me for it; to which I replied, by observing, that he himself had just told me that Prussia was one of his allies. On the morrow he visited the town, received the civil and military authorities, and invited us again to sup with him. This second supper was

a dull affair at first, for the Emperor kept silence, and you know that not one present, not even Murat, dared to take the first word of him. At length he opened, by a question to me,—'How far from Cadiz to Dantzic?' I replied, without mincing the matter, 'Sire, too far.' Then no more the familiar thee and thou. 'Monsieur le General, I understand you; but, in a few months the distance will be much greater.'—'So much the worse, sire." Here there was another interval of silence; neither Murat nor Berthier, whom the Emperor examined with that searching glance which you know he has, answered a word, and he again took up the conversation, but without addressing any one of us in particular; 'Gentlemen,' said he, in a grave, but rather low, tone of voice, 'I see clearly that you have no great taste for campaigning. The King of Naples is reluctant to quit the fine climate of his own kingdom: Berthier prefers the chase on his estate of Grosbois; and Rapp is impatient to inhabit his house in Paris.' To this right, left, and front stroke, would you believe that neither Murat nor Berthier had a single reply to give? and the ball came again to my foot. I answered, quite frankly, that it was very true. Lo and behold! the very same evening, when we were alone, Murat and Berthier complimented me on my honest freedom, and on the thousand and one reasons there were for speaking as I had done. 'Truly, gentlemen,' replied I, 'since you so heartily approve of what I did, why not do as much? and why leave me to say my say alone?' You cannot conceive the air of consternation which both presented on this address! and Murat, even more than Berthier, though his position was very different. Why, my God! why did *he* not listen to me."

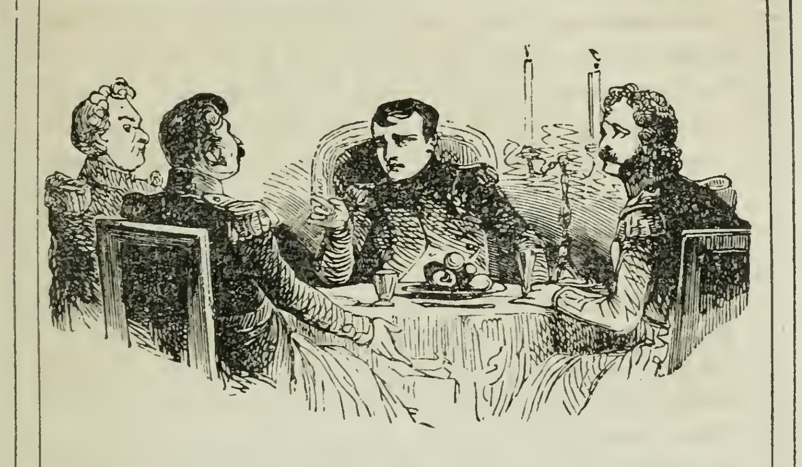
"Rapp," says De Bourrienne, "was here strongly affected; but though he disapproved of Bonaparte's ambition in presence of Bonaparte himself, he shed tears over the fallen Napoleon in presence of Louis XVIII.

Leaving Dantzic on the 11th June, the Emperor arrived on

the 12th at Konigsberg, where he inspected, for the last time, his immense stores, for supplying the army during its advance into the barren country about to be invaded. The active and ardent mind of Napoleon was for some days intent on naught save these important particulars. "The day," says Segur, "was passed in receiving instructions on questions of subsistence and discipline; and the night in repeating them. One General received in a single day six despatches from him, all expressive of his anxious solicitude. In one of these, he says—'The result of all my movements will be the concentration of four hundred thousand men upon one point: nothing can then be expected from the country; and consequently we must carry everything with us.'"

"From Konigsberg to Gumbinnen, Napoleon passed in review several of his armies, talking to the men with gaiety, frankness, and a soldier-like bluntness. As his custom was, he walked leisurely along the ranks. He knew the wars in which every regiment had been engaged with him. He stopped for a few moments before some of the oldest soldiers; to one he recalled the battle of the Pyramids, to another that of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, or Friedland, by a single word accompanied with the most familiar address. The veterans thus recognised by their Emperor, felt elated before their junior comrades, who looked up to them with admiration and envy. Napoleon continued his round. He did not neglect the young: he shewed an interest in all that concerned them, and was well acquainted with their smallest wants. This individual attention to the soldiers absolutely charmed them. They remarked to each other that their great Emperor, who decided on the fate of kingdoms in a map, descended in respect to themselves into the most minute particulars: that they were his old, his genuine family. It was thus that he attached them to war, to glory, and to himself.

"The army now proceeded from the Vistula towards the Niemen. That river, from Grodno as far as Kowno, flows



parallel with the Vistula. The river Pregel runs from one to the other: it was covered with boats and provisions. Two hundred thousand men arrived there from four different points."

Napoleon made one more final effort to conciliate Alexander, and with this view sent Count Lauriston to the czar, who, however, refused to give the envoy an audience. On learning this, Napoleon immediately gave orders to march towards the Niemen, and issued the following proclamation from the head-quarters at Wilkowisky :—

"Soldiers, the second Polish war has commenced. The first was concluded at Friedland and at Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war against England. She has openly violated her oath; she refuses to give an explanation of her strange conduct till the French eagles shall have repassed the Rhine, and consequently left our allies at her discretion. Russia is driven onwards by fatality; her destiny is about to be accomplished. Does she believe that we have degenerated? Are we no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She has placed us between dishonour and war; the choice cannot for an instant be doubtful! Let

us then march forward, cross the Niemen, and carry war into her territories. The second Polish war will be as glorious to the French arms as the first; but the peace which we shall conclude, must carry with it its own guarantees and put an end to that fatal influence which for the last fifty years Russia has exercised over the affairs of Europe."

The grand army, which consisted of upwards of four hundred thousand men, now moved forward, divided into thirteen corps, besides the Imperial Guard, and certain chosen troops. The first division was headed by Davoust; the second by Oudinot; the third by Ney; the fourth by Prince Eugene; the fifth by Poniatowski; the sixth by Gouvion St. Cyr; the seventh by Reynier; the eighth by Jerome Bonaparte; the ninth by Victor; the tenth by Macdonald; the eleventh by Augereau; the twelfth by Murat: and the thirteenth by Prince Schwartzenburg. The guard was commanded by Bessières, Le Febvre, and Mortier.



On the 23rd of June, long before day-break, the French army approached the Niemen; the Emperor rode forward at

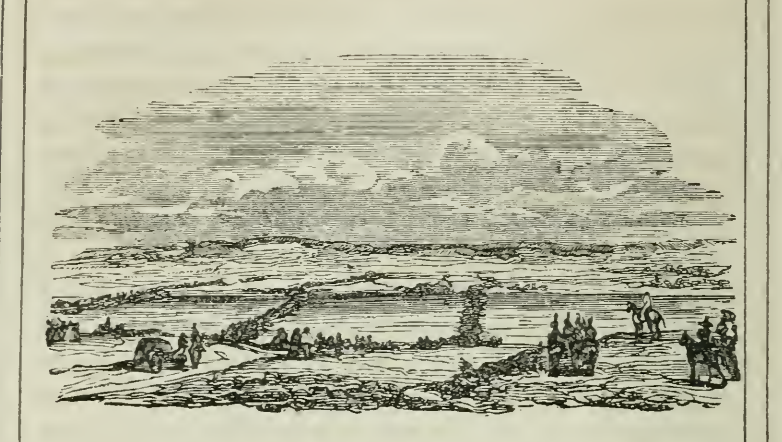
two o'clock in the morning to reconnoitre, accompanied only by General Haxo, and escaped observation by wearing a Polish cloak and bonnet. After a minute investigation, he discovered a spot near the village of Poinemen, above Kowno, suitable for the passage of the troops, and gave orders for three bridges to be be thrown across at nightfall.

The first who crossed the river were a few sappers in a boat. All was deserted and silent on the foreign soil, and no one appeared to oppose their proceedings, with the exception of a single armed Cossack, who asked, with an appearance of surprise, who they were, and what they wanted? The sappers replied,—" Frenchmen;" and one of them added, "come to make war upon your Emperor; to take Wilna; and deliver Poland. The patrol withdrew, and three French soldiers discharged their pieces into the gloomy depths of the woods where they had lost sight of him, in token of hostility.

Three hundred voltigeurs were next immediately sent across to protect the erection of the three bridges; and two hours after dusk, the passage of the troops commenced. The next day, at sun-rise the Emperor crossed among the first, and took his station near the bridges, to encourage the men by his presence and exhortations.

They saluted him as usual. Owing to his previous exertions and want of rest, or from the excessive heat of the day, he appeared depressed, but presently a re-action took place, and with fierce impatience he set spurs to his horse, and dashed into the country, "as if," says Segur, "he were on fire to come in contact with the enemy alone." In the course of the morning a violent storm arose; the lightning flamed above their heads; they were drenched with the rain; and the late oppressive heat of the atmosphere was suddenly changed to a bitter chilliness."

The passage of the troops was impeded for a time; for the bridge over the Vilia a stream running into the Niemen had been broken down by the Russians. The Emperor, however,



despising this obstacle, ordered a Polish squadron of horse to swim the river. They instantly obeyed; but on reaching the middle, the current proved too strong for them, broke their ranks and swept away and engulfed many of them. Even during their last struggles, the brave fellows turned their faces to the shore where Napoleon was watching their unavailing efforts with the deepest emotion, and shouted with their dying breath, "Vive l Empereur."

Having at length crossed the Niemen, a task which occupied three days, he advanced on the 27th to Wilna, without encountering, or even catching sight of any enemy; and made preparations for an immediate attack; to his surprise, however, he discovered, that Alexander, hearing of the rapid advance of the French, had abandoned the place with his army, first destroying all the provisions and stores to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands. On the 28th, therefore, Napoleon entered Wilna, amid the fervent acclamations of a people who regarded him as their liberator.

About this time, the Diet of Warsaw, under the presidency of Adam Czartorinski, proclaimed the re-establishment of Poland, and sent a deputation to the French Emperor,

intreating his assistance towards the restoration of their ancient kingdom.

"We implore," said the petitioners, "the support of the hero, to whose name belongs the history of the age, and who is endowed with the might of Providence. Let the great Napoleon pronounce his fiat, that the kingdom of Poland shall exist, and it will be established. The Poles in return will unite at once, and unanimously, in the service of him to whom ages are but as a moment, and space no more than a point."

Napoleon replied in the following cold and guarded terms: "Gentlemen, Deputies of the Confederation of Poland, I have listened with deep interest to what you have just told me. Were I a Pole, I should think and act like you; I should have voted with you in the assembly of Warsaw; patriotism is the first duty of civilised man. In my position, I have many interests to reconcile, and many duties to fulfil. Had I reigned during the first, second, or third partition of Poland, I would have armed my people in her defence. When victory supplied me with the means of re-establishing your ancient laws in your capital, and a portion of your provinces, I did so, without seeking to prolong the war, which might have continued to waste the blood of my subjects. I love your nation. For sixteen years I have found your soldiers at my side on the plains of Italy and Spain. I applaud what you have done; I authorise your future efforts; I will do all which depends on me to second your resolutions; but in countries so distant and extensive, it must be entirely on the exertions of the population which inhabits them that you can justly ground hopes of success. From the first moment of my entering Poland I have used the same language. To this it is my duty to add, that I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, and that I cannot sanction any movement tending to disturb the peaceable possession of what remains to him of the Polish provinces.

Only provide that Lithuania, Samogitia, Vitepsk, Polotsk, Mohilef, Volhynia, the Ukraine, Podolia, be animated by the same spirit which I have witnessed in the Greater Poland, and Providence will crown the good cause with success. I will recompense that devotion of your provinces which renders you so interesting, and displays so many titles to my esteem and protection, by every means that can, under the circumstances, depend upon me."

Under the circumstances there was no help for Napoleon: his engagements with Austria and Prussia left him no choice; for on them depended the supplies for his troops, and his retreat in case of defeat. The result, however, was that the Poles became dissatisfied, and offered little or no support to the French. "Had Poland been regenerated," says De Bourrienne, "Napoleon would have found the means of succeeding in his expedition. In his march upon Moscow, his rear and supplies would have been protected, and he would have secured that retreat which subsequent reverses rendered but too needful."

Many delays arose in striving to remedy the mischief produced by the mismanagement of the Commisariat, which had from inexperience, and neglect of the precautions ordered to be adopted by the Emperor, almost proved fatal to the French army at the commencement of the campaign. When the troops had crossed the Niemen, not a third of the provision-waggons and herds of cattle had arrived; the result of which was that on reaching Wilna, the Emperor learned that some hundred men, and ten thousand horses had died of hunger and fatigue; and about twenty-five thousand patients were conveyed to the hospitals at Wilna, although not a single battle had been fought. The exactions to which the want of food compelled the soldiers to subject the inhabitants did much to injure them in their affections.

The Emperor Alexander continued his retreat towards Drissa, followed by Murat, Oudinot, and Ney; Davoust

meanwhile marched towards Minsk and Vigumen, to intercept the army of Bagrathion, and a body of Cossacks headed by Platow, which had been delayed at the Niemen, while Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, pressed on their front. The czar perceiving the danger to which this portion of his army was exposed, despatched Count Balacoff to Wilna, under pretence of negociating for peace; but in reality only to gain time to rescue his generals from their threatening position. But Napoleon was not to be deceived; and on the Russian envoy offering to treat on condition of the French re-crossing the Niemen, the Emperor immediately replied: "Treat on the field here, at Wilna. Diplomatists would come to no conclusion when the exigences of the moment were removed. Let Alexander sign admissible preliminaries, I will at once repass the Niemen, and thus render peace certain." Nothing, however, was effected, and on the 16th July, Napoleon left Wilna to commence the war in person.

On the 18th, Napoleon reached Klubokoe, where he was informed that Barclay de Tolly had abandoned the camp at Drissa, and was retiring upon Vitepsk. He immediately ordered all his corps upon Beszenkowiczi; and so precise were his combinations, that the whole of his immense armies arrived at that place in one day. Segur has thus described the apparent chaos of confusion which seemed to result from that very regularity itself. "The columns of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, presenting themselves on every side; the rush, the crossing, the jostling; the contention for quarters, and for forage and provisions; the aides-de-camp bearing important orders vainly struggling to open a passage. At length, before midnight, order had taken the place of this apparent anarchy. The vast collection of troops had flowed off towards Ostrowno, or been quartered in the town, and profound silence succeeded the tumult. The Russian army had got the start of Napoleon, and now occupied Vitepsk."

On the 23rd, Davoust brought Bagrathion to action near

Mohilow; and as the French remained in possession of that town at the end of the day, the Russians found themselves under the necessity of altering the time of their retreat. Bagrathion informed Barclay that he was now marching not on Vitepsk, but on Smolensko, and the commander-in-chief felt the necessity of abandoning Vitepsk also. Meantime Regnier on the right wing, and Oudinot on the left, were defeated; the former by Tormazoff, the latter by Witgenstein, both with severe loss. The Emperor halted at Vitepsk for seven days, to refresh his troops. The Russian plan of defence having been already ascertained—and alarming. The country was laid utterly desolate wherever they retired; every village was burnt ere they quitted it: the enthusiastic peasantry withdrew with the army, and swelled its ranks.

Napoleon quitted Vitepsk on the 8th August, and after a partial engagement at Krasnoi on the 14th, came in sight of Smolensko on the 16th. The first and second armies of the Czar, (Bagrathion having at length effected his junction with Barclay) lay behind the river which flows at the back of this town; but it was occupied in great force. Three times did Bonaparte attack it, and three times he was repulsed. During the night the garrison withdrew, and joined the army across the river; but before they went, they committed the city to flames, and the buildings being chiefly of wood, the conflagration, according to the French bulletin, "resembled in its fury an eruption of Vesuvius, never," continues the same bulletin "was war conducted with such inhumanity: the Russians track their own country as if it were that of an enemy." Such was indeed their resolution, they had no desire that the invader should establish himself in winter quarters at Smolensko. With the exception of some trivial skirmishes, they retreated unmolested from Smolensko to Dorogobuz, and thence on Viasma; halting at each of these towns, and deliberately burning them in the face of the enemy.

It now, however, began to be difficult in the extreme to



extinguish the flames created by the retreating Russians, and Napoleon in person, used every effort to stop the progress of the devouring element, and render succour to the wounded. "Napoleon," says General Gourgaud, "is of all generals, whether ancient or modern, the one who has paid the greatest attention to the wounded. The intoxication of victory never could make him forget them, and his first thought, after every battle, was always of them."

After traversing the town and examining the outworks and fortified posts whence his intrepid phalanxes had dislodged the Russians, Napoleon wished to reconnoitre for himself the new position of the enemy, beyond the Borysthenes. To effect

this, he ascended an ancient tower, from an embrasure of which he sought, on the heights which command Smolensko,



the camps of Barclay and Bagrathion. Both these generals were, however, in full retreat; the former having taken the road to St. Petersburg, the latter, that towards Moscow. This voluntary separation of the two Russian armies, which had been at such pains, and had sacrificed so much in order to effect their junction, appeared to Napoleon merely a feint; his couriers soon informed him that he was not deceived in his conjectures, and that Barclay, ceasing to march northwards, was actually approaching Bagrathion in the direction of Moscow. He immediately ordered a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, hoping to come up with and crush him, before he could reach his ancient capital. The honour of marching with the advance-guard, and striking the first blow, devolved upon



NEY.

Marshal Ney, who gloriously justified the confidence of Napoleon, by the intelligence and bravery which he displayed at the battle of Valoutina.

This was a most sanguinary fight. Four times were the Russians driven from their positions, and on each occasion, brought up reinforcements, and retook them; at length they were finally overthrown by the valorous Gudin, who charged at the head of his division, the vigour and impetuosity of which led the enemy to believe that they were exposed to the shock of the Imperial guard. Thirty thousand men were brought into action on either side, and the slaughter was terrible. The divisions Razout, Ledru, and Marchand, of the *corps* of Marshal Ney, gallantly sustained the attack of their comrades. Much individual bravery was also displayed on this occasion. The Russian General Toutchkoff, was assailed in the midst of his own soldiers, by a brave lieutenant of the 12th regiment, named Etienne, and compelled to give up his arms to this bold and valiant officer. A grievous loss for Napoleon and for the French army was nevertheless joined to the success of this day; Gudin who had performed so prominent a part in the affair, payed for it with his life. He was conveyed mortally wounded, to Smolensko, where he shortly expired. The Emperor had him interred in the citadel.

The victory of Valoutina might have been decisive, if Junot, by executing faithfully the orders which had been transmitted to him, had arrived in time to cut off the *corps* of Barclay, which had separated from that of Bagrathion on their departure from Smolensko, by taking the direction of St. Petersburgh, and which afterwards manœuvred to effect a fresh junction on the road to Moscow. But the Duke of Abrantes, after having passed the Borysthenes, at the point which had been indicated to him, remained motionless, despite the representations of the King of Naples, and the advice of General Gourgaud, who spoke to him, moreover, in the name of the Emperor. When Napoleon was made aware of the

conduct of his lieutenant, he was sadly annoyed, and said to Berthier: " Junot is tired of it; you see I cannot leave him any longer in command; Rapp shall replace him, he speaks German, and will, therefore, be better able to manage the Westphalians." Junot was the same sub-officer whom Bonaparte, as commandant of artillery, had remarked and become attached to, on account of his sang-froid and courage at the siege of Toulon. But the Republican Serjeant, on becoming Duke of Abrantes under the Empire, began to shew the first symptoms of the malady (insanity) of which he died. It was his inaction and obstinacy on the present occasion that preserved the Russian army from total destruction.

Junot's fault, although it filled the heart of Napoleon with bitterness, did not prevent the Emperor from testifying his satisfaction and joy to the brave men who had decided the success of the battle of Valoutina. He repaired in person to the field of battle, and passed in review the divers regiments which had distinguished themselves there. " Arrived at the 7th light infantry," says General Gourgaud, " he ordered the captains to advance, and said to them: 'Shew me the best officer of the regiment.'—'Sire, they are all good...'—'That is no answer; come at least to the conclusion of Themistocles: 'I am the first; the second is my neighbour.' At length, captain Moncey, who was absent on account of his wounds, was named. 'What!' said the Emperor, 'Moncey, who was my page! the son of the marshal! seek another!'—'Sire, he is the best!'—'Ah well!' said Napoleon; 'I shall give him the decoration.'" Up till this time the hundred and twenty-seventh regiment had marched without an eagle, having had no opportunity of distinguishing itself. The Imperial ensign was now delivered to it by Napoleon's own hands. There were rewards both honorary and substantial for all the troops which had taken part in the engagement.

The French now began to understand the system of warfare adopted by the half-civilized races whose territory they

had invaded. As they retreated, everything was laid waste before them and burnt, in addition to which, after firing their towns and villages, breaking down their bridges, and destroying their corn and hay, they represented these unwarrantable acts as those of the French soldiery.

Having returned to Smolensko, Napoleon became a prey to the most harassing reflections on the opportunity which had so lately escaped him of destroying the whole of the Russian army, and attaining a speedy conclusion of peace. Uncertainty began to gain ground on him; vague presentiments made him desire to terminate as soon as possible this distant campaign. Every thing that was announced to him of the state of Poland and Prussia, of the disposition of minds and of the movements, of Tormasoff, everything which he saw and heard at his head-quarters, where the grumblers of Brunn, Ebersdorf, Pulstuck and Eylau had re-appeared, all concurred to detain him at Smolensko, and more than once, he thought of remaining there. But he soon learnt the divers advantages obtained over the enemy on the 12th by Schwartzenberg, Legrand, Oudinot, and Gouvion St. Cyr, and his greatest apprehensions disappeared or were much enfeebled. On the other hand, the Russians seemed to fly rather than retire before the approach of the French army. All prudential considerations were sacrificed to the hope of a decisive victory. "We are too far engaged to fall back," said Napoleon on arriving at Ougea; "and if I only proposed to myself the glory of warlike exploits, I should have but to return to Smolensko, there plant my eagles, and content myself with extending to the right and left, arms which would crush Wittgenstein and Tormasoff. These operations would be brilliant; they would finish the campaign very satisfactorily, but they would not terminate the war. Our troops may advance, but are incapable of remaining stationary. Motion may keep them together: a halt or retreat would at once dissolve them. Ours is an army of attack, not of defence; of operation, not of position.

We must advance upon Moscow, gain possession of that capital, and there dictate terms of peace to the czar! Peace is before us; we are but eight days' march from it: when the object is so nearly attained, it would be unwise to deliberate. Let us therefore march upon Moscow!"

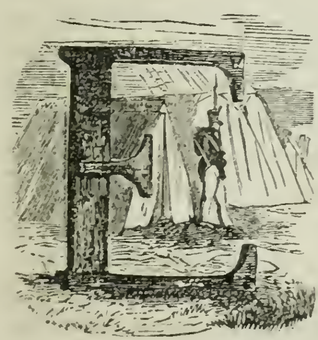
Let us then march upon Moscow! the great man wishes it; an invisible hand urges him thither; destiny must be accomplished! Napoleon had yet to experience the extent of the sacrifices which the Russians were capable of making.





CHAPTER VII.

Alexander at Moscow. The governor Rostopchin. Extreme resolution. Battle of Moscowa. 1812.



EAGER to reach Moscow, Alexander had quitted the camp at Drissa to hasten thither, and learn the disposition of his subjects. All Russia was by this time aroused. In former campaigns her soldiers had always been represented as victorious. According to the official bulletins issued by the czar, the "Children of the Revolution" had been forced to yield to the superior skill and bravery of the "Loyal Armies of the North." Nothing could exceed the astonishment of all classes on learning that Napoleon had dared to invade Russia, which bold attempt they considered made in order to retrieve former disgraces. Hence the whole Russian population united against this "new Moloch of the age," as he was termed; and determined to resist him to the last.

Count Rostopchin, the governor of the city had assembled the nobles and merchants at the Kremlin, in order to demand

of them fresh sacrifices of men and money; he had addressed and depicted to them the enemy in the heart of the state, and represented Napoleon as an exterminating tyrant come to ravage their country, destroy their national independence, and overthrow their religion. This was sufficient to devote the conqueror to the execration of the nobles and the Muscovite citizens. The vehement elocution of Rostopchin was received with the most unanimous acclamations. The skilful governor, however, did not stop here. In order to excite still more the superstition, and raise the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of Moscow to the highest pitch, he counselled the chief of the Empire, who was also endowed with the supreme pontificate, to come and exercise in person the power of which he was possessed, and the irresistible influence which he held by means of his political autocracy, and his sacred omnipotence. At the moment when Rostopchin appeared to have raised the enthusiasm of the assembly to the highest pitch, Alexander suddenly entered through a door of the palace-chapel, and, in his turn, spoke energetically of the country and its religion, placed on the brink of an abyss by the insatiable ambition of the universal tyrant. "The disasters with which you are threatened," said he in conclusion, "can only be regarded as the necessary means to consummate the ruin of the enemy."

When Alexander pronounced these last words, there was something sinister in his voice, his gesture, nay, his very look. Indeed, it was impossible, in the midst of such weighty matters, in a position which necessitated the employment of extreme means, that the language of the czar, should conceal the great and profound emotions of the pontiff and the monarch. Policy took an impassioned character, and war a terrible form, with the Russians.

For them, Napoleon was not an ordinary enemy with whom one might be contented to fight according to the common usage; in their eyes, the head of the French people was, above all, the oppressor of the monarchs of the continent, and

it appeared to the czar that, in order to shake off the yoke with which they were encumbered, it would be needful to have recourse to other means than those authorized by the civilized laws of warfare. Thus, far from confining himself to entrusting the safety of his Empire to the science of his generals and the bravery of his soldiers, and addressing himself directly and solemnly to the universality of his subjects, in his decrees and proclamations, he chose for some of his most devoted servants, men of a savage energy, in order to initiate them into the frightful mystery of a desperate resistance. Alexander thought that monarchy might also have its supreme law of *public welfare*, either to serve as an excuse for invasion, or to render it fatal to the conquering army. If this idea did not lead him to surround himself with gaolers and executioners, to multiply the incarcerations and punishments, it was because the position of the Russian Empire did not require it, and that there could be neither *suspected* nor *proscribed* persons located, where there were neither *emigrants* nor *traitors*. But other sacrifices, systematically consummated, were torn from the generosity of the natives; and these produced consequences as disastrous for the beautiful provinces and large cities of the Muscovite monarchy, as afflicting for humanity. Instead of gaolers and executioners, the *autocrat* had his incendiaries, who, after having lighted the flight of the Russian army and victorious march of the French, from Wilna as far as Smolensko, by yielding as a prey to the flames, bridges, magazines, and whole towns, at length crowned this immense conflagration by the burning even of the holy city; this was the horrible presage which the last words of the czar concealed, at the assembly of the Kremlin. The inhabitants of Moscow were thus prepared for the worst; their master had confided the safety of the empire to the genius of destruction!

However, Napoleon once resolved to march upon Moscow had pushed the war vigorously, and pursued the Russians, sword in hand, in order to make them accept battle, by which

he flattered himself with closing hostilities and determining the czar to peace. But Alexander did not wait for him at the Kremlin; and, instead of hastening to meet him, and take the command of the Russian armies, proceeded rapidly to St. Petersburgh, whence he despatched old General Kutusoff* to replace Barclay de Tolly as commander-in-chief of his forces, "thinking," says Colonel Butturlin, a Russian author, "that it was requisite to have a Russian name at the head of the army, in order to nationalize the war." Barclay de Tolly was a German by birth, of Scottish extraction, and although in the confidence of Alexander, was not liked by the Russian generals. As an indemnification he was appointed minister of war at St. Petersburgh.

In the mean time, Napoleon after a short rest at Smolensko, pushed forward, the Russians still retreating, and destroying everything available for food or shelter. On the 28th August, the enemy was overtaken by the French advanced guard, who drove them at once to Viazma, which was set fire to and abandoned. On the 1st of September, Murat took possession of Gjatz, which was only partially burnt, the Russians having been too closely pursued to be enabled to complete their work of destruction.

When Kutusoff reached the Russian army, Barclay had taken up a position between Viazma and Gjatz, and made preparations for a battle on the ensuing day. The old warrior would not allow it to be believed that the superseded General had well chosen his ground, and the Russians, therefore, still retired at the approach of the French. They at length halted on the 5th, when they were discovered strongly posted between

* Madame de Stäel, whose exile continued, was then at St. Petersburgh, and visited Kutusoff on the eve of his departure for the army. She says: "He was an old man of most gracious manners, and of vivacity in his physiognomy. Looking at him, I feared that he would not have strength to struggle against the vigorous and youthful men who had pounced upon Russia; but the Russians, courtiers at St. Petersburgh, became Tartars with the army. Before leaving, Kutusoff went to pray in the church of Notre Dame of Kasan, and all the people who followed his steps, called upon him to save Russia."

the Kalonga and the Moskowa, with several well constructed field-works and batteries to protect them in front and on their flanks. A redoubt had been erected to guard the high-road to Moscow; which Napoleon immediately ordered the *corps* of Davoust and General Compan's division to take. This was effected at the bayonet's point, though not without great slaughter on either side.

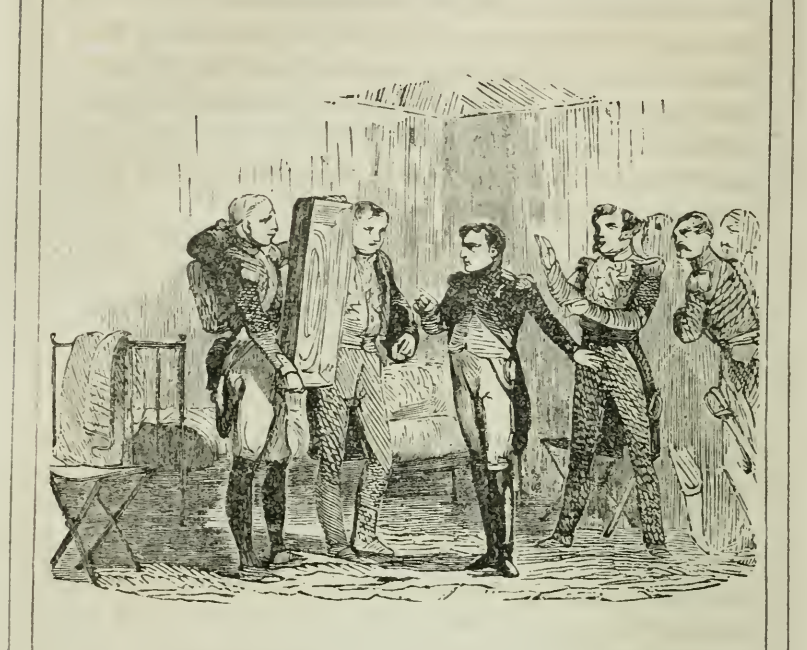
On the eve of, and before day-break on the 6th, the Emperor was on horse-back, wrapped in his grey coat, and exhibiting all the alacrity of his younger days. He was accompanied by Rapp and Caulaincourt, the brother of the well-know diplomatist, and followed at some distance by a few *chasseurs* of the guard. Kutusoff, he observed, was strongly posted, and had covered the whole of his line with redoubts and entrenchments.

On his return to head-quarters, he found just arrived with despatches, Colonel Fabvier, the aide-de-camp of Marshal Marmont, whose defeat had delivered Salamanca, into the hands of Wellington. The colonel generously defended his leader, against whom Napoleon was much embittered.

A very different reception awaited M. de Beausset. The Emperor had been deeply moved on receiving news of that which was dearest to him in the world. The portrait of his son caused him moreover the sweetest and mildest emotions. After having shewn it to the persons who surrounded him, he entrusted it to the care of his secretary, saying to him: "Take it away, and guard it carefully; he sees a field of battle too early. The ground on which the head-quarters were established on the 6th, became the field of battle on the 7th.

Battle of Moskowa.

"On the 7th, at two o'clock in the morning, the Emperor was surrounded by his marshals in the position taken up on the preceding evening. At half-past five, the sun rose unob-



scured by a cloud; "It is the sun of Austerlitz," said the Emperor. Although in the month of September, it was as cold as the month of December in Moravia. The army, nevertheless, regarded it as a fortunate omen."

The Emperor had short leisure to meditate on his awful situation. "He saw," says General Count Segur, "that the two armies were equal; about 120,000 men, and 600 pieces of cannon on either side. The Russians had the advantage of ground, of speaking but one language, of one uniform, of being a single nation, fighting for the same cause, but a great number of them being irregular troops and recruits. The French had as many men, but more soldiers; for the state of his *corps* had just been submitted to him; he had before his eyes an account of the strength of his divisions, and as it was neither a review, nor a distribution, but a battle

that was in prospect, this time the statements were not exaggerated. His army was reduced, indeed, but sound, supple, nervous—like those manly bodies, which, having just lost the plumpness of youth, display forms more masculine and strongly marked.

"Still, during the last few days that he had marched in the midst of it, he had found it silent, from that silence which is imposed by great expectation or great astonishment; like Nature the moment before a violent tempest, or crowds at the instant of an extraordinary danger.

"He felt that it wanted rest of some kind or other, but that there was no rest for it but in death or victory; for he had brought it into such a necessity of conquering, that it must triumph at any rate. The temerity of the situation into which he had urged it was evident, but he knew that of all faults that was the one which the French most willingly forgave; that in short they doubted neither of themselves nor of him, nor of the general result whatever might be their individual hardships.

"He reckoned, moreover, on their habit and thirst of glory, and even on their curiosity; no doubt they wished to see Moscow, to be able to say that they had been there, to receive there the promised reward, perhaps to plunder, and, above all, there to find repose. He did not observe in them enthusiasm, but something more firm, an entire confidence in his star, in his genius, the consciousness of their superiority, and the proud assurance of conquerors in the presence of the vanquished.

"Full of these sentiments, he dictated a proclamation, simple, grave, and frank, such as befitted the circumstances, and men who were not just commencing their career, and whom, after so many sufferings, it would have been idle to pretend to exalt.

"Accordingly, he addressed himself solely to the reason of all, or, what is the same thing, to the real interest of each; he finished with glory, the only passion to which he could appeal

in these deserts, the last of the noble motives by which it was possible to act upon soldiers always victorious, enlightened by an advanced civilization and long experience; in short of all generous illusions, the only one that could have carried them so far. This harangue will some day be deemed admirable; it was worthy of the commander and of the army; it did honour to both. It was as follows:—

"Soldiers,

"Here is the battle which you have so ardently desired! Victory now depends upon yourselves: it is necessary to us; it will give us abundance, and a speedy return to our own country! Behave as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Vitepsk, at Smolensko, and afford to the remotest posterity occasion to cite your conduct on this day; let it be said of you: 'He was in the great battle under the walls of Moscow!'

"Given at the Imperial camp, on the heights of Borodino, on the 7th September, at two o'clock in the morning."

The army replied by reiterated acclamations. The plain occupied by the army was covered with the bodies of Russians killed in the fight of the previous evening.

"Prince Poniatowski, who formed the right, set himself in motion in order to turn the forest which supported the left of the enemy. The prince of Eckmuhl commenced his march by the side of the forest, led on by the division Compans. Two batteries of sixty pieces of cannon each, commanding the position of the enemy, had been constructed during the night.

"At six o'clock, General Count Sorbier, who had mounted the right battery with the artillery of the reserve of the guard, opened fire. General Pernetty, with thirty pieces of cannon, placed himself at the head of the division Compans (fourth of the first *corps*), which was marching by the wood to turn the position of the enemy. At half-past six o'clock, General Compans was wounded. At seven o'clock the Prince of Eckmuhl had his horse killed under him. The attack was

becoming general, and the musketry had commenced. The viceroy Eugene, forming the left, attacked and took the village



of Borodino, which the enemy were unable to defend, it being on the left bank of the Kologha. The bridge had also been taken, and should have been destroyed; but, carried away by the ardour of success, the 106th regiment had crossed that passage in spite of the cries of its general, in order to attack the heights of Gorcki, where it was overwhelmed by the front and flank fires of the Russians. It was reported that the general who commanded that brigade had been killed, and that the 106th regiment would have been entirely destroyed, had it not been for the 92nd, which voluntarily ran up to its

assistance; and collected and brought back the survivors. At seven o'clock, also, the Marshal Duke of Elchingen moved forward, and under cover of sixty pieces of cannon which General Foucher had pointed during the night against the centre of the enemy, marched to the attack. A thousand pieces vomited death on either side. At eight o'clock, the enemy's positions were carried, his redoubts taken, and the French artillery crowning their ramparts."

Segur thus describes the taking of the first Russian redoubt:

"The enemy's musketry began and was answered only by the French cannon. The French infantry marched without firing: it was hurrying on to get within reach of and extinguish the fires of the enemy, when Compans, the general of that column, and his bravest soldiers, were wounded, and fell; the rest, disconcerted, halted under the shower of balls in order to return it, when Rapp, rushing to replace Compans, again led his soldiers on with fixed bayonets, and at a running pace against the enemy's redoubt.

"He was himself just on the point of reaching it the first, when he was in his turn hit, it was his twenty-second wound. A third general, who succeeded him, also fell. Davoust himself was wounded. Rapp was carried to the Emperor, who said to him: 'What, Rapp, always hit! But what are they doing above?' The aide-de-camp answered, that it would require the guard to finish. 'No!' replied Napoleon, 'I shall take good care of that; I have no wish to see it destroyed; I shall gain the battle without it.'

"Ney, then, with his three divisions reduced to 10,000 men, hastened into the plain to the assistance of Davoust. The enemy divided his fire. Ney rushed forward. The 57th regiment of Compans' division, finding itself supported, took fresh courage; by a last effort it succeeded in reaching the enemy's entrenchments, scaled them, mingled with the Russians, put them to the bayonet, and overthrew and killed the most obstinate. The rest fled, and the 57th maintained its conquest."

"The advantage of position which the enemy's batteries had enjoyed for two hours, now belonged to us. The enemy beheld the battle lost, which he thought had scarcely commenced. The parapets which were opposed to the French during the attack, were now in their favour. Part of the Russian artillery was taken, and the remainder incapable of being brought into operation. In this extremity, they endeavoured to regain their advantage by attacking with all their immense masses, the strong positions which they were unable to keep. Three hundred pieces of French cannon placed on the heights, crushed the advancing foe, and the Russian soldiers came to expire at the foot of those parapets which they had raised on the preceding days with so much care, hoping they would serve as a bulwark to protect them from the enemy's fire

"The King of Naples, with the cavalry, made divers charges. The Duke covered himself with glory, and shewed as much intrepidity as *sang-froid*. The Emperor ordered a charge in front, the right in advance; this movement rendered us masters of three fourths of the field of battle. Prince Poniatowski fought in the wood with various success.

"The enemy still had his redoubts on the right; General Count Morand marched in order to take them; but at nine o'clock in the morning, attacked on all sides, he was unable to maintain himself. The enemy, encouraged by this success, made his reserve, and indeed his last troops advance, in order to again try is fortune. The Imperial guard made part of it; and attacked our centre on which the right pivoted. For a moment it was feared that he would carry the burnt village; the division Friant marched to its support; eighty French pieces at first arrested and afterwards crushed the hostile columns which maintained themselves for two hours exposed to the iron shower, not daring to advance, nor willing to fall back and renounce the hope of victory. The king of Naples decided their uncertainty; he ordered the fourth *corps* of the cavalry

to charge, which penetrated through the breaches which the fire of our cannon had made in the close masses of the Russians, and the squadrons of their cuirassiers; they disbanded on all sides. The General of division, Count Caulaincourt, governor of the Emperor's pages, placed himself at the head of the 5th cuirassiers, overthrew everything, and entered the redoubt on the left, in spite of the most vigorous opposition. From that moment there could be no further doubt, the battle was gained; the one and twenty pieces found within the redoubt were turned against the enemy. Count Caulaincourt who had just distinguished himself by this fine charge, had terminated his services; he fell dead, struck by a bullet; a glorious and enviable death.

"By two o'clock in the afternoon, all hope had abandoned the enemy: the battle was at an end, although the cannonade was not yet discontinued; the Russians fought for their retreat and safety, but no longer for the victory.

"The enemy's loss was enormous: from twelve to thirteen thousand men, and between eight and nine thousand horses were counted on the field of battle; sixty pieces of cannon and five thousand prisoners remained in our hands.

"We have had two thousand five hundred men killed, and three times the number wounded. Our total loss may be set down at ten thousand men: that of the enemy at forty or fifty thousand. A like field of battle was never seen. Out of six corpses, there will be about one French to five Russians. Forty Russian generals have been killed, wounded or taken: General Bagrathion received a wound.

"We have lost the General of division, Count Montbrun, killed by a cannon shot; General Count Caulaincourt, who had been sent to replace him, killed by a bullet an hour after.

"The Generals of brigade Compère, Plouzonne, Mariout, Huart have been killed; seven or eight Generals wounded, for the most part slightly. The Prince of Eckmuhl received no injury. The French troops have covered themselves with

glory, and shewn their great superiority over the Russians. Such is in a few words the outline of the battle of Moskowa, fought about two leagues from Mojaisk, and twenty-five from Moscow, near the little river of Moscowa. We have fired sixty-thousand cannon balls, which have already been replaced by the arrival of eight hundred carriages which had left Smolensko before the battle. All the woods and villages in the neighbourhood of the field of battle, are covered with the dead and wounded. Two thousand dead or maimed Russians were found here, and several generals or colonels are taken prisoners.

"The Emperor was not once exposed; the guard, both horse and foot, were not brought into action, and consequently lost not a single man. The victory was at no time doubtful. If the enemy, driven from his positions, had wished to retake them, our loss would have been much greater than his; but he destroyed his army by exposing it from eight o'clock until two, to the fire of our batteries; and by obstinately endeavouring to retake that which he had been forced to yield. This was the cause of his immense loss.

"However great may have been the success of this day, it might have been still more so, if Napoleon, instead of finishing the battle at four o'clock in the afternoon, had profited by the remainder of the day to bring his guard into the field, and thus changed the defeat of the enemy into a complete rout. This hesitation of the great captain, in the midst of the intoxication of victory, has been variously interpreted. Some writers assure us that it was severely censured at the time, at head-quarters, and affirm Marshal Ney to have said: "Are we then come so far to be satisfied with a field of battle? What business has the Emperor in the rear of the army? There, he is only within reach of reverses, and not of victory. Since he will no longer make war himself, since he is no longer the general, as he wishes to be the Emperor every where, let him return to the Tuileries, and leave us to be generals for him."

"Murat," says M. de Segur," was more calm; he recollected having seen the Emperor the day before, as he was riding along observing the part of the enemy's line, halt several times, dismount, and with his head resting upon the cannon, remain there some time in the attitude of suffering. He knew what a restless night he had passed, and that a violent and incessant cough cut short his breathing. The king guessed that fatigue, and the first attacks of the equinox, had shaken his weakened frame, and that, in short, at that critical moment, the action of his genius was in a manner chained down by his body, which had sunk under the triple load of fatigue, of fever, and of a malady which, probably more than any other, prostrates the moral and physical strength of its victims.

"The better informed, however, thought very differently Their idea was, that at that distance, and at the head of an army of foreigners, who had no other bond of union but victory, he had judged it indispensable to preserve a select and devoted body.

"His enemies in fact, would have no longer any thing to hope from fields of battle; neither his death, as he had no need to expose his person in order to insure success, nor a victory, as his genius was sufficient at a distance, even without bringing forward his reserve. As long, therefore, as this guard remained untouched, his real power and that which he derived from opinion would remain entire. It seemed to be a sort of security to him, against his allies, as well as against his enemies: on that account he took so much pains to inform Europe of the preservation of that formidable reserve; and yet it scarcely amounted to twenty thousand men, of whom more than a third were new recruits."

Nevertheless, it is hardly probable that any of the lieutenants of Napoleon would ever have been, not sufficiently bold, but sufficiently unjust to reproach with him "playing everywhere the Emperor, and being no longer the General," on the occasion of a battle of which the sagacious prepar-

ations, and the active and supreme direction, had incontestably belonged to him alone. As to his desire of preserving a reserve uninjured, and forming it from a chosen and devoted body, such as his guard, Napoleon explained it by saying: "And if there should be a second battle to-morrow, what could I oppose to it?" General Gourgaud, developing this explanation since, has added: "If the guard had been destroyed at the battle of the Moskowa, the French army, of which this guard constantly formed the core, and whose courage it supported during the retreat, could scarcely have ever repassed the Niemen."

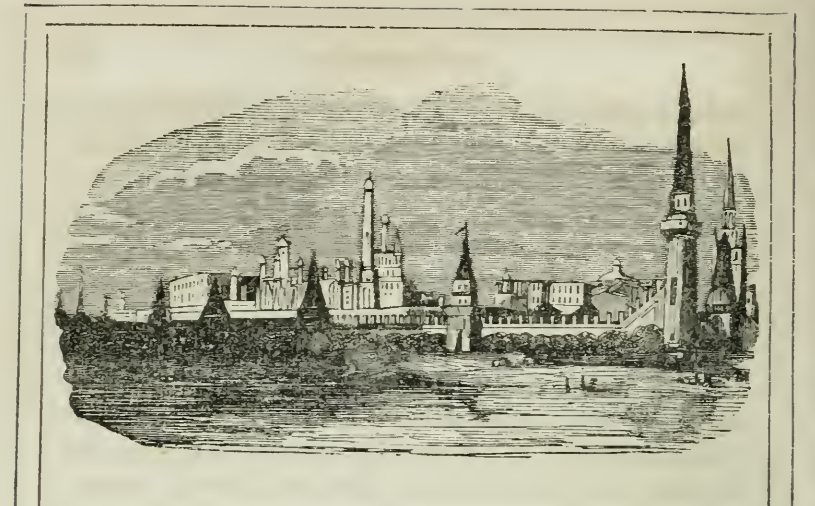
However it may have been, there is no doubt but that the consideration of the safety and glory of his army, or the hope of an approaching peace, and certainly the interest of France and of humanity, prevailed with Napoleon not to render the sanguinary battle of the Moscowa still more murderous, by the intervention of his guard; and if any one seeks to insinuate that he was then influenced by a feeling of personal safety, and that he yielded only to motives arising from the care of his own preservation, we reply that Napoleon has given, from Toulon to Waterloo, the most striking denial of this outrageous insinuation. No, the daring genius, who had conceived this gigantic expedition, could not himself compromise its definitive success by any such egotistical idea! Physical illness may have attacked and enfeebled him like another; there is nothing impossible in that. His promptitude of resolution and energy of mind may have suffered by it; a circumstance easily conceived. He hesitated, indeed, when at Smolensko. But if, arriving at the term of his prosperities, having nothing farther to add to the lustre of his name, and beholding himself already so high, that there remained nothing for him but to fall, Napoleon had sometimes allowed uncertainty and anxiety to penetrate his soul; this slight wavering of the confidence and faith with which his rising fortune had long since inspired him, might well, at the

approaches of decay, cause him to lose in certain moments, somewhat of his vigour of conception, of his rapidity of execution, and of that daring which seemed formerly to defy destiny, without the grandeur of his character being changed thereby, without ignoble precautions, dictated by a miserable love of self, coming at once to replace in him the constant solicitude which he had shewn for France above everything, since he had been placed by her at the summit of power. And who will credit that the sublime courage of the soldier of Arcola and of Lodi, that the heroism of the general who, at Essling, braved danger in such wise, that his officers threatened to remove him by force; who will believe that this sublime courage, that this heroism, could ever give place, in Napoleon, to a cowardly uneasiness as to the personal fate of the monarch? Bourrienne himself, Bourrienne, who strives so arduously to detract from the glory of the great man, and who seems to have taken up the pen but to contradict the testimony of his country and of his age before the tribunal of history, even Bourrienne is indignant, at the suspicion of weakness or fear which certain persons have dared to direct against Napoleon, on his return from Moscow. "He fear!" he exclaims, "he, a coward or poltroon! forsooth, you must be well acquainted with him! He was never happier than on a field of battle, never more tranquil than in the midst of danger!"

We repeat then, with General Gourgaud, Baron Fain, etc., the Emperor spared the guard, at the Moscowa, for the welfare of the whole army, and with a view to the ulterior possibilities of the war, or an approaching conclusion of peace. Whatever may have been his physical enfeeblement, it is certain that it paralyzed neither his genius nor his activity. It was the Emperor who prepared and conducted this great battle, which, however, did not prevent him attributing the honour of the victory to the principal chiefs of his army, to those even who are made to utter such strange speeches in

respect to him. Marshal Ney was rewarded for the noble share he had in the success of this great battle by the title of Prince of the Moskowa. "Intrepid heroes," he says in his Memoirs, "Murat, Ney, Poniatowski, it is to you that the glory of it is due! What grand, what splendid actions will history have to relate! it will tell how our intrepid cuirassiers forced the redoubts and sabred the cannoneers at their pieces; it will recount the heroic devotion of Montbrun, and of Caulaincourt, who expired in the midst of their glory; it will tell what was done by our cannoneers, exposed on the open plain, against batteries more numerous and covered by good embankments; and of those intrepid men, who, at the most critical moment, instead of needing to be reassured by their general, exclaimed: 'Be calm, thy soldiers have all sworn this day to conquer, and they *will* conquer!' Will some portions of so much glory reach the ears of future generations; or will lying, calumny, and crime prevail?"





CHAPTER VIII.

March on Moscow. Occupation of this capital by the French.



UTUSOFF, beaten at Moscow, despite the advantages of position and numbers, did not fear to lie to the Russian people and to his sovereign, by causing it to be announced on all sides, and by writing even to Alexander, that victory had declared for the Muscovite flag. His retrograde march, however, could scarcely be reconciled with these assertions. Having precipitately escaped from the field of battle, he took refuge in Mojaisk, and after making a feint of fresh preparations for defence, he abandoned this town to the French on the 9th September, and marched with all speed towards Moscow, leaving innumer-

able wounded in the power of the enemy, who had as yet received no succour, and who owed their first assistance to the victorious army. "Aided by some soldiers of the guard, whose humanity I had several times put to the proof," says Doctor Larrey, "I at once provided for the first wants of these unfortunates. The churches and hospitals had been prepared to receive the wounded French. The Russians were conveyed to the merchants' houses." When it was announced to Napoleon that Platoff, commanding the rear-guard of Kutusoff, was about to advance upon Mojaisk, "Still," said he, "we will remain some hours longer with our unfortunate wounded."

However, it was reported that Kutusoff still maintained the hope of saving Moscow, and that he had raised, at the distance of some leagues from this capital, works which seemed to indicate the intention of sustaining a fresh attack. Rostopchin also strove to make the Russians believe that such was the design of the general-in-chief, in a proclamation on the 11th September, which is thus conceived: "He says that he will defend Moscow to the last drop of his blood, and that he is even ready to fight in the streets of this town. The tribunals are closed; but let not that disturb you, my friends: affairs must be set to rights. We have no need of tribunals to judge scoundrels. If, however, they should become necessary to me, I will take the young people from the town and villages. In two or three days I shall give the signal. Arm yourselves, therefore, with hatchets and pikes, or, if you would do better, take your three-pronged pitch-forks: the Frenchman is not heavier than a wheat-sheaf."—"I depart to-morrow," said Rostopchin on the following day, "In order to repair to his highness Prince Kutusoff, and take, jointly with him, measures to exterminate our enemies. We will send these guests back to the devil, and make them yield up their souls. I shall return to dinner, and we will commence our labours for reducing these perfidious men to ashes."

It was by this language that the governor of Moscow, the orator of the Kremlin,* preluded the accomplishment of the disastrous sacrifices at which the czar, himself, had hinted. But Kutusoff did not shed the last drop of his blood in order to preserve the holy city from the invasion of the French: the old warrior had never dreamt of such a thing, and Rostopchin knew it full well. They had determined on a totally different plan, and the moment of carrying it into execution was at hand. During the night of the 13th and 14th September, Kutusoff abandoned all his positions in advance of Moscow, and withdrew in a westerly direction, rapidly traversing the immense city, which formerly he had seemed resolved to defend with a sort of fanaticism. "On the 14th September," says a Muscovite writer, "a day of everlasting regret to hearts truly Russian, the army raised the camp of Fili, at three o'clock in the morning, and entered the town, by the barrier of Doragomilow, which it crossed, and left by the barrier of Kolomma.... Moscow presented a most mournful aspect. The march of the Russian army had rather the air of a funeral procession than of a military march. Both officers and soldiers wept with rage and despair." (Butturlin.)

The French however, on seeing the camp of Fili so unexpectedly raised, hastened in pursuit of the Russians. Murat, the impetuous Murat, always in quest of peril, and the foremost to attack, was the first to be on the enemy's footsteps. At noon, he was already in the streets of Moscow, having with him but a few cavaliers, and precipitating himself, nevertheless, head-foremost on the rear-guard of Kutusoff. His escort soon increased, Napoleon having sent Gourgaud to support him. The Cossacks then hailed and surrounded

* The denials of which the burning of Moscow has been the subject, cannot destroy the facts irrevocably known to history; they only prove that those who had conceived a horrible system of defence in order to save their country, have not since dared to answer for their acts to posterity, or to say, like the famous revolutionist of France: "Perish my memory, but let the country be saved!"

the adventurous warrior, the richness of whose dress and whose astonishing bravery they admired at the same time. Murat, who was very well known amongst them, especially since Tilsit, where he had made them some presents, could not be less generous on this new occasion. He gave his watch to their leader, and disposed even of Gourgaud's, as well as of the trinkets of his officers in order to distribute them among the barbarians who surrounded him, and who once possessed of these dazzling presents, hastened to evacuate Moscow, and resume their irregular skirmishing and manœuvres in the rear of the Russian army.

Whilst the Cossacks retired, Napoleon with the remainder of his advanced-guard arrived at the gates of the city. The hurried departure of Kutusoff, after so many demonstrations and threats of resistance; the abandonment of a city which

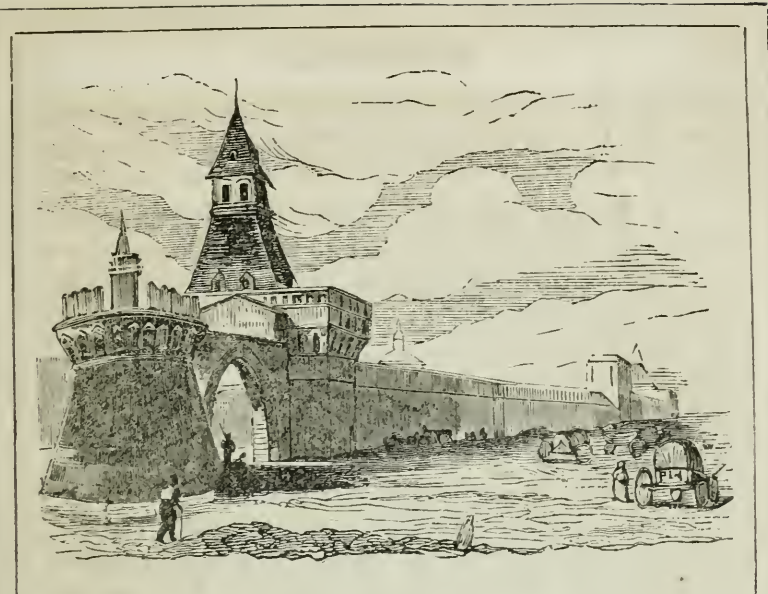


served as a warehouse for the riches of Europe and Asia, the example of Smolensko, and the smoking vestiges of so many

disasters, accumulated over the finest provinces of Russia by Russian hands, all inspired the Emperor with distrust, and made him hesitate. It was, so to speak, but by inches that he was about to take possession of his new and important conquest. At first he halted at the barrier, and had the exterior of the city reconnoitred; Eugene was ordered to surround it on the north, and Poniatowski to embrace the south, whilst Davoust remained near the centre; the guard was then ordered to march, and, under the command of Lefebvre triumphantly entered Moscow, and prepared to establish itself at the Kremlin.

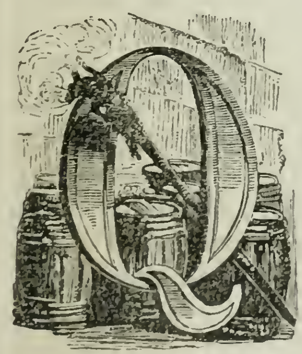
Napoleon now crossed the barrier in his turn. But, as if some inward voice had warned him that he trod on an abyss, and that Moscow enclosed within its walls the term of the successes of the French army and the first sign of the decay of the great empire, he still feared to advance into the town, marched only a few steps, and took up a temporary abode at an inn in the suburbs. On the next day, the 15th, no alarming symptom having appeared, the presentiments and fears which had beset him on the preceding day, were quieted; and, confidently entrusting himself to his fate and to the fortune of France, which he believed to be identified, marched boldly to the Kremlin, and there installed himself.

Was the object of the campaign now procured? Would the occupation of Moscow determine Alexander to peace, as Napoleon had flattered himself? This opinion held sway in the French army; it was the hope of both officers and soldiers, who exclaimed: "Behold then this famous city at last! Moscow! Moscow .... danger, suffering, all is forgotten." This enthusiasm, unhappily, was soon to be followed by a bitter deception! According to the words of the Emperor himself, "we shall presently see what the Russians will do."



CHAPTER IX.

Burning of Moscow. Consequences of this disaster. Napoleon vainly awaits proposals of peace. Retreat of the French. Marshal Mortier blows up the Kremlin.



UARTERED in Moscow, the Emperor immediately wrote to Alexander proposing terms of peace. In his letter, he assured the Czar, " that whatever might be the vicissitudes of war, nothing could diminish the esteem entertained for him by his friend of Tilsit and Erfurt." The Emperor Alexander, however, would not hear of negociations, and he who had been hitherto accustomed to receive propositions from his vanquished enemies, now found his own rejected for the first time.

What now remained for the French Revolution to do, in order to achieve its external re-action and triumphant course

over Europe, in order to punish the ancient aristocracies and royalties for their persevering animosity towards new France.

If it formerly made them expiate the brutal invasion of Brunswick, it now avenged itself for the savage arrogance of Suwaroff. After having conducted its magnificent representative to every capital, introduced the glorious plebeian into all the palaces which served as an asylum and sanctuary to ancient pride, it came to establish him in the Kremlin, in the dwelling of the czars; and Peter the Great might groan in his turn beneath the foot of the PARVENU, as did formerly the great Frederick and Charles the Fifth.

All that which the Revolution had to accomplish, under the auspices of the eagle, and by the arm of the great man, for the humiliation of kings and the democratic instruction of nations, was it then on the point of being consummated? Was the mission of Napoleon approaching its termination?

Events are about to reply for us.

Napoleon has not ceased, and doubtless never will cease to be a startling incarnation of the revolutionary principle in the eyes of foreign monarchs, the French people, however, are resolved to see nothing in him but the personification of the principle of equality. But the French nation will not wholly deceive herself as to the tendencies of her chief, when she sees him forget for a moment "the divine right of capacity and of genius," of which he is the sublime expression, in order to prepare himself for resuscitating fictitious superiorities, transmissible by birth; and the European nations, left after Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram at the mercy of their ancient governments, will also have to reproach him from whom they awaited their deliverance, with having to frequently given way before an extensive application of that propagating spirit, of which he was, moreover, by the force of circumstances, as well as by the power of his genius, the most active and wonderful agent. Without speaking of the Poles, placed

provisionally under the doubtful protection of the future, the Russians themselves had to experience Napoleon's repugnance to enacting the character of propagator. "By proclaiming the emancipation of the slaves," he has since spoken in his senate, "I could have armed the greater portion of the Russian population against herself. In several villages, this enfranchisement was demanded of me, but the war I made upon Russia was political; and, besides, the brutality of this numerous class of the Russian people is such, that a like measure would devote many families to the most horrible barbarities... This latter consideration was sufficient for me to refuse to employ the means offered against my enemies." An English writer attests the same fact. "There is no doubt," says Robert Wilson, "that a civil war could have been fermented in Russia; and it was Bonaparte who rejected the offers of insurrection which were made to him, during the time he was at Moscow."

However praiseworthy may have been the motives which in this instance caused Napoleon to reject the offers of the servile population, it was not the less certain that the Emperor might hereafter fall without dragging the revolution with him in his descent, without compromising the ulterior progress of the popular principles. There is in his character, in his position, inevitable repugnances which history must duly appreciate. Democracy has very nearly obtained all that which night have been expected from him, through the mingling of his intrepid children with the nations of the north and of the south, from Cadiz unto Moscow.

But if the political character of Napoleon is soon to end, if he has reached the term of his revolutionary ascendancy, what is to become of his character of conqueror which he has so long represented?

When the gods themselves seemed to watch over his head and take charge of his fortune, it was civilization, rather than conquest, which fixed their solicitude and determined

their mysterious assistance; it was the powerful and glorious instrument of European regeneration which they protected in him rather than the founder of a dynasty, or the victor in so many battles. Assistance from on high might therefore be withheld from him, now that there was nothing more to be done in futherance of the views of Providence, in order to humiliate kings and educate the people. Heaven, which for so long a period, was propitious, in the interest of universal emancipation, might now hold itself neuter between the new potentate and the old ones; but will not this neutrality affect the genius of the man, will it not give rise to days fatal to his power, will it not hasten the accomplishment of his destiny?

We shall presently see what the Russians will do.

"Napoleon thought he had foreseen all," says an eye-witness: "sanguinary battles, prolonged sojourn, rigorous winter, even reverses;.... the possession of Moscow, and the two hundred and sixty thousand men which he had left behind, seemed to him to have secured him from casualities... But scarcely had he taken possession of the Kremlin, than a horrible conflagration broke out; that which he had not foreseen, that which he could not have foreseen, the destruction of Moscow by the Russians themselves, deprived him of the prop on which his chief combinations resisted.

"Some slight conflagrations had broken out on our first arrival, which we had attributed to the imprudence of the troops. But on the 16th, the wind having reached a considerable height, the flames became general. A great portion of the town was of wood, and contained large stores of brandy, oil, and combustible matter. All the pumps had been destroyed, and the exertions of our men were almost useless.

"Black columns of smoke rose high in the air, from the eastern quarter, and spread themselves over the town, diffusing every where a frightful odour of sulphur and bitumen. The flames followed hard upon this, advancing from house to house, increased by every thing they devoured, and in a river

of fire, ran from one extremity of the town to the other. Whilst these first outbreaks of the conflagration pursued their formidable course, fresh furnaces were lighted, and additional torrents of flame were let loose, which urged by the wind, plunged across intervals which the preceding waves had been unable to attain. One would have said that the earth had yawned in order to furnish all the fires which burst forth! the flames spread with the greatest fury, and had no longer either direction or limits, roaring and boiling like the waves in a storm, and the unfortunate town finished by being engulfed in an ocean of flame!

"Most of us imagined that want of discipline in our troops, and intoxication had begun the disaster, and that the high wind had completed it. We viewed ourselves with a sort of disgust. The cry of horror which all Europe would not fail to set up, terrified us. Filled with consternation by so tremendous a catastrophe, we accosted each other with down-cast looks: it sullied our glory; it deprived us of the fruits of it; it threatened our present and our future existence; we were now but an army of criminals, whom Heaven and the civilized world would severely judge. From these overwhelming thoughts and paroxysms of rage against the incendiaries, we were roused only by an eagerness to obtain intelligence; and all the accounts now began to accuse the Russians alone of this disaster.

"In fact, officers arrived from all quarters, and they all agreed. The very first night, that of the 14th, a fire-balloon had settled on the palace of the Prince Trubetskoi, and consumed it, this was a signal. Fire had been immediately set to the Exchange: Russian police-soldiers had been seen stirring it up with tarred lances. Here howitzer shells, perfidiously placed, had discharged themselves in the stoves of several houses, and wounded the military who crowded round them. Retiring to other quarters which were still standing, they sought fresh retreats; but when they were on the point of

entering houses closely shut up and uninhabited, they had heard faint explosions within; these were succeeded by a light smoke, which immediately became thick and black, then redish, and lastly the colour of fire, and presently the whole edifice was involved in flames.

"All had seen hideous looking men, covered with rags, and women resembling furies, wandering among these flames, and completing a frightful image of the infernal regions. These wretches, intoxicated with wine, and the success of their crimes, no longer took any pains to conceal themselves; they proceeded in triumph through the blazing streets, many were caught, armed with torches, assiduously striving to spread the conflagration; it was necessary to strike down their hands with sabres to oblige them to loose their hold. These banditti, it was said, had been released from prison by the Russian generals for the purpose of burning Moscow.

"Orders were immediately issued to shoot all the incendiaries on the spot. The army was on foot. The old guard, which exclusively occupied one part of the Kremlin, was under arms: the baggage, and the horses ready loaded, filled the courts; we were struck dumb with astonishment, fatigue, and disappointment, on witnessing the destruction of such excellent quarters. Though masters of Moscow, we were forced to go and bivouac without provisions outside its gates.

"In lieu of the numerous mansions and palaces, there remained standing naught save masses of brick which marked the places of the domestic hearths. These scorched and blackened ruins appeared to us but as the burnt skeleton of Moscow.

"About four o'clock in the morning, one of the Emperor's officers awoke him, to inform him of the conflagration. The monarch had thrown himself on the bed only a few minutes before, after having dictated orders to the various *corps* of his army, and laboured with his secretaries.

From the windows of the Kremlin, Napoleon had beneath his eyes this grand catastrophe.... Scipio, regarding the

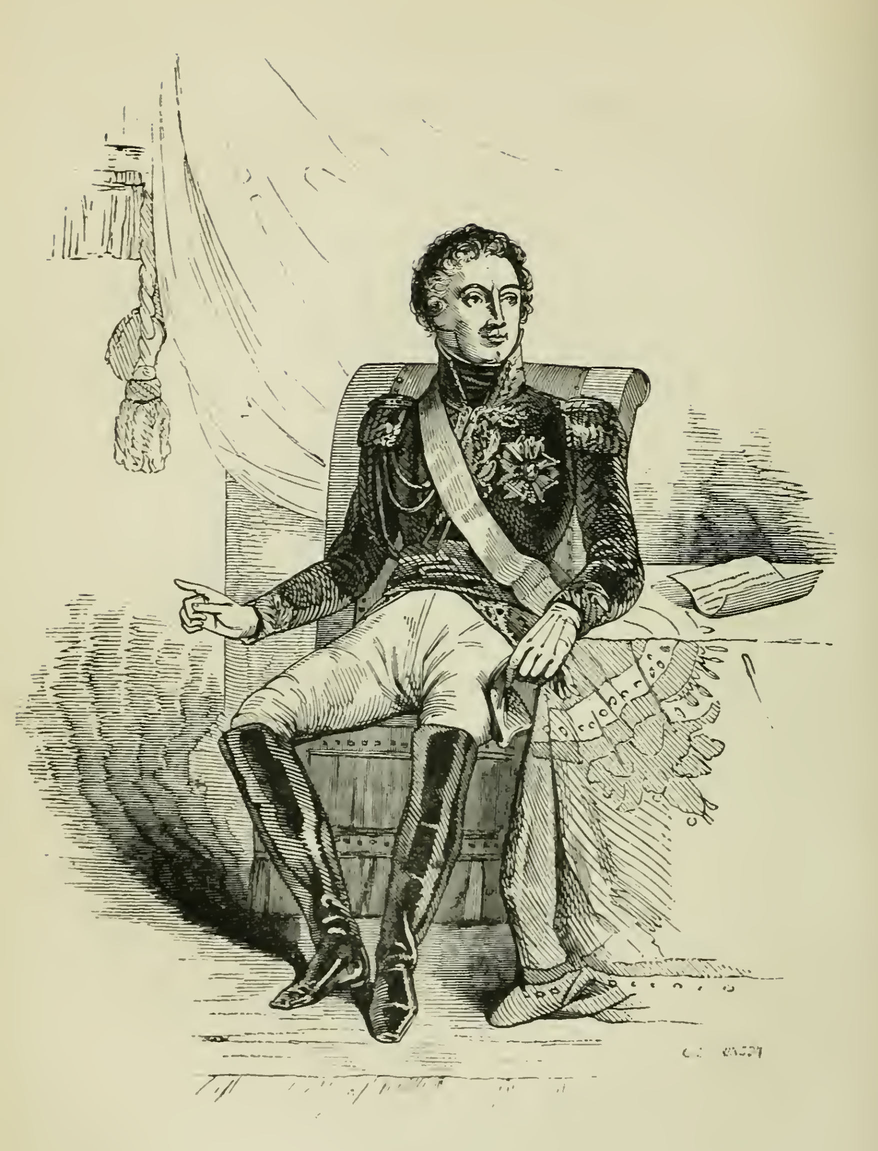


burning of Carthage, could not repress a sad presentiment of the fate which Rome would suffer in her turn. Napoleon remained pensive, the whole army was plunged in a state of stupor. The mournful silence which prevailed at the Kremlin was only interrupted by such exclamations as: 'This is then how they make war! The civilization of St. Petersburgh has deceived us; they are indeed Scythians!'" (*Manuscript of* 1812.)

Napoleon now saw what the Russians would do. Instead of ambassadors or negociators coming to him to sue for peace, he found, in Moscow, incendiaries who enveloped him in a vast

conflagration which surrounded him with ruins. He might say with Madame de Stael, "that no civilised nation contained so many savages as the Russian people." The agents of Rostopchin, to the number of nine hundred, had been posted in cellars in order to set fire to all parts at once. Some of them were surprised torch in hand, who confessed, and their declaration accuses Rostopchin, who himself cannot have acted without the authority of his master, for what subject of the autocrat would have taken upon himself the responsibility of so great a disaster?

The flames, however, approached the vicinity of the Kremlin, the glass in the windows of the Imperial palace was broken, it was time for Napoleon to provide for his safety, and decide upon his retreat. Nevertheless, he persisted in refusing. It was a first retrogade step that was asked of him; he felt this, and would not give way before the barbarism which he had vanquished a score of times, which he had compelled to fly before him for a distance of two hundred leagues, and across the finest provinces of the Russian empire. In vain were the flakes of fire which fell in the yard of the arsenal pointed out to him, and which already strewed the ground where the artillery was stationed, with its ammunition; in vain was he assured that the artillerymen were troubled for their personal safety, and that the greatest alarm prevailed throughout head-quarters; he resisted all counsel, all representations. Lariboissière Lefèbvre, Bessières, Eugene, came to endeavour in their turn, by their pressing solicitations, to induce him to retire from a danger which became each moment more imminent. Napoleon, at the Kremlin, was at the summit of his fame; he had arrived there by passing over the bodies of a hundred thousand of Kutusoff's brave followers, and he revolted at the idea of being driven from it by a handful of incendiaries, by a few hundred of Rostopchin's agents. After having been raised so high by victory, must he descend, must he fall back, and without having been vanquished! He could not make up his



BERTHIER.

mind to it. He wished to defy the barbarians in the midst of their fury, struggle against the fatality to the last, prove to his savage enemies that there was more strength in his great soul, than power in their infernal combinations. During several hours he remained still firm and immoveable at the Kremlin.... But this life which he exposed, this life which he lavished, appertained to the army, belonged to France. It must have been inevitably compromised if the Emperor had obstinately persisted in remaining despite the fearful progress of the flames. Napoleon, therefore, acknowledged the hand of necessity, and ended by yielding to it. Berthier who had ascended a terrace of the Kremlin, came to inform him that not a moment was to be lost, for the palace was surrounded by flames. "The Emperor," says M. de Segur, "went out to ascertain the danger. Twice had the fire communicated to the building in which he was, and twice had it been extinguished; but the tower of the arsenal was still burning. A soldier of the police had been found in it. He was brought in, and Napoleon caused him to be interrogated in his presence. This man was the incendiary, he had executed his commission at the signal given by his chief. It was evident that everything was devoted to destruction, the ancient and sacred Kremlin itself not excepted.

"The gestures of the Emperor betokened disdain and vexation, the wretch was hurried into the first court, where the enraged grenadiers despatched him with their bayonets."

Napoleon was at length prevailed on to remove by an observation from Berthier. "Sire," said Berthier, "if the enemy should attack those French *corps* which are out of Moscow, your Majesty has no means of communicating with them."

Segur thus continues: "This decided Napoleon. He hastily descended the northern staircase, famous for the massacre of the Strelitzes, and desired to be conducted out of the city, to the distance of a league on the road to St. Petersburgh, toward the Imperial palace of Petrowskoi.

"But we were besieged by an ocean of fire, which blocked up all the gates of the citadel, and frustrated the first attempts that were made to depart. After some search, we discovered a postern-gate leading between the rocks to the Moskowa. It was by this narrow passage that Napoleon, his officers and guard escaped from the Kremlin. But what had they gained by this movement? They had approached nearer to the fire, and could neither retreat nor remain where they were; and how were they to advance? how force a passage through the billows of this sea of flame? Those who had traversed the city, stunned by the tempest, and blinded by the ashes, could not find their way, since the streets themselves were no longer distinguishable amidst the smoke and ruins.

"There was no time to be lost. The roaring of the flames around us became every moment more violent. A single narrow, winding street, completely on fire, appeared to be rather the entrance than the outlet to this hell. The Emperor rushed on foot and without hesitation into this narrow passage. He advanced amid the crackling of the flames, the crash of floors, and the fall of burning timbers, and of the red-hot iron roofs which tumbled about him. These ruins impeded his progress. The flames, which, with impetuous roar, consumed the edifices between which we were proceeding, spreading beyond the walls, were blown out by the wind, and formed an arch over our heads. We walked on a ground of fire, beneath a fiery sky, and between two walls of fire. The intense heat burnt our eyes, which we were nevertheless obliged to keep open and fixed on the danger. A consuming atmosphere, glowing ashes, detached flames, parched our throats, and rendered our respiration short and dry; and we were already almost suffocated by the smoke. Our hands were burnt, either in endeavouring to protect our faces from the insupportable heat, or in brushing off the sparks which every moment covered and penetrated our garments.

"In this inexpressible distress, and when a rapid advance

seemed to be our only means of safety, our guide stopped in uncertainty and agitation. Here would probably have terminated our adventurous career, had not some pillagers of the first *corps* recognized the Emperor amid the whirling flames; they ran up and guided him towards the smoking ruins of a quarter which had been reduced to ashes in the morning."

It was then that we met the Prince of Eckmuhl. This marshal, who had been wounded at the Moskowa, had desired to be carried back among the flames to rescue Napoleon, or to perish with him. He threw himself into his arms with transport; the Emperor received him kindly, but with that composure which in danger he never lost for a moment."

It was in the afternoon of the 16th September that Napoleon left Moscow, and before nightfall he had reached Petrowskoi. Scarcely was he installed in his new residence, than he gave way to the most profound meditations on the disastrous incident which had just deranged all his plans, and on the part which he should now take. His first idea was to go and seek at St. Petersburgh that peace which he had been unable to conquer at Moscow, and he passed the night in tracing his march on the map. But before acting, he wished to consult or rather sound those who accompanied him, and at once perceived that his plan would meet with few supporters at head-quarters. Eugene alone thought with the Emperor: Eugene was ready to march with the advanced guard. His indefatigable courage applauded the bold project and the constancy of Napoleon. But other brave men, not less renowned, had been led, by the recent events, to allow themselves to be governed by prudence. Those who had feared this distant campaign at its opening, could scarcely smile at the idea of still prolonging it, and plunging into the North to encounter the frost. The apprehensions which had been manifested at Dantzic and Smolensko now re-appeared. Formerly, they would not have changed the determination of the master; at Petrowskoi they were more powerful. "For the first time,"

says M. Fain, "he doubted the superiority of his glance." The responsibility of a second campaign appeared to him too difficult to support. Nevertheless, he did not allow himself to be convinced by those who wished him to abstain from pursuing the war towards St. Petersburgh, in the hope of obtaining peace at Moscow.

On the morning of the 17th the Emperor directed his first glances towards Moscow, hoping to find the fire subdued. It continued with all the terrors of the previous night, the city now appeared to him "one vast fire spout, ascending in awful whirls towards the sky." He was for some time entirely absorbed in the contemplation of this horror and ruin, and broke his melancholy silence by observing, "This forebodes us no common calamities."

Throughout the 18th and 19th of September the conflagration raged with unabated fury, when it slackened for want of fuel. A portion of the Kremlin, a few Palaces and all the stone buildings remained standing. All else was a confused mass of ruins. So sudden was the departure of the nobility, that the French officers on their entrance found even the jewels of the ladies left behind, the destruction of property and life was enormous, the latter too horrible to dwell upon. Dumas states that he found six thousand wounded Russians in the hospitals which he examined by order of Napoleon when the French army entered. Their fate cannot be doubtful.

The Emperor returned to the Kremlin on the 28th, and passed through the camps of his army, which exhibited a most singular appearance. "They were," says Segur, "situated in the midst of fields, in a thick and cold mire; and contained immense fires fed by rich mahogany furniture and gilded sashes and doors. Around these fires, with a litter of damp straw, sheltered only by a few miserable planks fastened together, his soldiers with their officers were to be seen splashed with dirt, and stained with smoke, seated upon superb arm-chairs, or reclining on sofas covered with silk. At their

feet, carelessly opened or thrown in heaps, lay Cashmere shawls, the finest furs of Siberia, the gold stuffs of Persia, and plates of solid silver, from which they had nothing to eat but a black dough, baked in ashes, and half-broiled and bloody steaks of horse-flesh."

Passing along the quay of the Moscowa, Napoleon perceived the hospital for foundlings. "Go," said he immediately to his interpreting secretary, "go and ascertain from me, what has become of these little unfortunates." The secretary obeyed.



Arrived at the establishment, he learnt that the children above the age of twelve had been sent to Nizni-Novogorod, and that the younger ones, left to the mercy of the flames, had been preserved by the guard which Napoleon had sent them in the night of the 14th and 15th. "The protection of

your master," said the director of the hospital to him, "was for us the greatest of Heaven's mercies; had not his majesty condescended to look down upon us, and we had no right to hope for it, our house would have become the prey of robbers, or of the conflagration." The old Russian then conducted the interpreter to the apartments where the children where assembled, and said to them:—"The Emperor sends you this Frenchman." Nothing more was wanting to excite the lively and uproarious gratitude of these young unfortunates. They threw themselves upon the messenger of Napoleon, overwhelming him with caresses; some embraced his knees, others hung round his neck, and all exclaimed with transport: "Your Emperor is our Providence."

When Napoleon heard, from the mouth of his secretary, the details of this reception, he was much affected by it, and immediately sent for the director of the hospital, who was called Toutelmine, and who had asked permission to write to his patroness, the Empress's mother, in order to inform her how the house had been saved from the fire. The conversation which he held with him, still lasted, when flames arose on the opposite bank of the river, and made Napoleon fear that the conflagration was not yet quite extinguished. At sight of this, indignation seized him anew, and the name of Rostopchin rose to his lips. "The wretch," he exclaimed, "who, to the already immense calamities of the war, has dared to add an atrocious conflagration, with his own hand, and in cold blood! The barbarian! it is not sufficient for him to abandon the poor children whose first protector he should be, and twenty thousand wounded, which the Russian army had confided to his care: women, children, old men, orphans, wounded, all are devoted to pitiless destruction! and he fancies he plays the Roman! he is a senseless savage!"

The next day, M. de Toutelmine brought the Emperor the letter which he had obtained permission to write to the supreme protectress of *foundlings*. This letter contained a sort of

overture for peace, and concluded thus: "Madam, the Emperor Napoleon groans at sight of our capital almost entirely destroyed by means, which, he says, are not those employed in fair and open warfare. He seems convinced that if some one interposed between him and our august Emperor Alexander, their ancient friendship might shortly resume its rights, and all our misfortunes be put an end to."

Napoleon did not confine himself to this indirect demonstration of his pacific sentiments. He wrote to the Emperor Alexander, himself, through the medium of one M. Jakowleff, who left on the 24th September for St. Petersburgh; and, on the 4th October, he decided upon taking an official step in support of his secret attempts, by sending his aide-de-camp, Lauriston, to Kutusoff's head-quarters. But the latter declared that he could not enter upon the negociation, nor allow the negociator to proceed, without having received the authorization of his master. For this purpose he expedited Prince Wolkonski to the czar.

During all these preparatory steps and distant messages, which occupied much time, the resources which the fire had spared, became exhausted, the Russian army manœuvred as if it intended surrounding the French in Moscow, the Cossacks harrassed them on all sides, and the bad season approached without any negociations having been opened.

Napoleon thus beheld verified that which he had announced to his generals, that "those who had burned Moscow were not the people to offer to make peace a few days later." Nevertheless he prolonged his stay at the Kremlin, actively busying himself with the internal policy of Moscow, and of the conquered provinces, entering into the smallest details of the military service and of the movement of the army, and still directing, from the midst of so many cares and labours, and across so vast a space, the high administration of his Empire. A month, however, had elapsed since his entry into the ancient capital of the czars, and neither the letter of M. de Toutelmine,

the missive confided to M. de Jakowleff, the despatch borne by the Prince Wolkonski, nor the presence of Lauriston in the camp of Kutusoff, had given rise to the least result. Deaf to every overture and pacific proposal, Alexander seemed to forget that the finest portion of his empire was invaded, and covered with ruins; but turned his eyes from the Kremlin, in order to cast them upon the cabinet of St. James's, whence felicitations and encouragements incessantly arrived. The conduct of Alexander was indeed eminently logical. He had wished for war; he had accepted all its disastrous chances, in order to make the old European system, the English system, prevail over the policy of the Revolution and its chief. It was not after having suffered every thing most fatal which a like resolution could bring upon him, that he could renounce the aim which he had proposed to himself. Ancient Europe, of which he had made himself the champion, demanded no further effort of him than to remain quietly in sight of the conquest, seated on the smoking foundations of Moscow, and anxiously awaiting words of peace in the very bosom of triumph. Alexander, therefore, could not hesitate; his refusal to treat had been assured to Castlereagh before hand, by the instructions given to Rostopchin.

Whilst the Russian government thus obstinately maintained its hostile attitude, the climate began to display its rigours. On the 13th October, the ground was covered with snow. "Let us haste," said Napoleon, "in twenty days we must be in winter-quarters." The next day he wrote to Murat to reconnoitre the road to Mojaisk, and made the trophies set out on the 15th, under the escort of General Claparède, whilst the evacuation of the sick and wounded was commenced upon Smolensko. The signal for departure was now irrevocably given. "This should not be called a retreat," says Napoleon in his *Memoirs*, "since the army was victorious, and could equally have marched on St. Petersburgh, Kalouga, or Toula, which Kutusoff had vainly attempted to cover; it did not

retire on Smolensko, because it was beaten, but in order to winter in Poland."

The French army, indeed, was victorious, and remained so until the last moment of the occupation of Moscow; for, on the 17th October; the King of Naples beat the Russians at Wenkowo, and Gouvion St. Cyr, at the same time, repulsed the attacks of Witgenstein on Polotsk. Napoleon did not the less foresee, that his retrogade march would produce a sensation in Europe unfavourable to the moral authority and the immense ascendant which his prosperities, as well as his genius, had hitherto enabled him to exercise over friends and foes, over cabinets and nations. His allies of Constantinople and Stockholm had failed him at the opening of the campaign; his allies of Vienna and Berlin, already so slow and tedious in their concurrence, might become still colder, and encouraged in their ill-dispositions, by seeing the French abandon their conquests in Russia and return to Poland. However, there was no choice. All hope of peace was at an end, and the northern climate had given its first warnings. Napoleon left Moscow, on the 19th October, taking the road to Kalouga, after leaving orders with Marshal Mortier, who commanded the rear-guard, to blow up the Kremlin.

The marshal received other less rigorous instructions from the Emperor. "I cannot," said Napoleon, "too strongly commend to your care what remains to us of wounded. Sacrifice your baggage, everything to them; let the wagons be devoted to their use, and if necessary your own saddles. This was the course I pursued at St. Jean d'Acre. The officers will first relinquish their horses, then the sub-officers, and finally the men. Assemble the generals and officers under your command, and make them sensible, how necessary in their circumstances is humanity. The Romans bestowed civic crowns on those who preserved their citizens! how much more will you not merit in my eyes for all the unfortunates you may save."

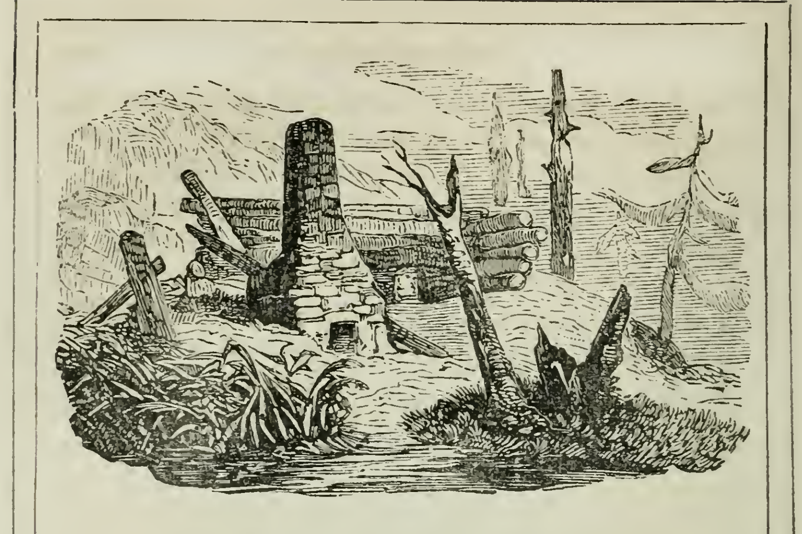
This retreat, which at first has nothing sinister in its appearance, nevertheless exhibits the French army under a totally novel aspect, calculated to give rise to sorrowful presentiments and bitter reflections on the inconstancy of fortune, and the instability of human greatness. Napoleon is still the conqueror, but he retires before the vanquished, embarrassed in his march with the immense stores with which he is obliged to provide himself, and dragging after him his magazines and hospitals on innumerable carriages. The long delay at Moscow had allowed time for the recovery or removal of the wounded; the return of stragglers, and the resting of the infantry.

The army which marched out of Moscow numbered one hundred thousand men, with their arms and knapsacks; above five hundred field pieces, and two thousand artillery wagons; "there was a long train of trucks and wheel-barrows," says M. de Fain, "around which each company was grouped. Every means of conveyance which the city of Moscow and its environs could afford, had been seized upon. Every one had placed in them some special reserve of provision or clothing, sufficient as he thought to serve him to the end of the retreat. Women, children, some of them French, others German and even Russians, belonging to the population of Moscow, preferred departing with us to awaiting the return of the Cossacks to their city. These were placed along with the baggage."

The last columns of the French army quitted Moscow, on the 23rd October, at two o'clock in the morning. An hour after, the Kremlin was blown up. M. Ottone, a captain of naval artillery, was charged to place the lighted matches on the barrels. The explosion produced by a hundred and eighty thousand pounds of powder, destroyed, with the principal towers of the palace and arsenal, the bridge, and the *depôt* of muskets, and all the *matériel* of the Russian artillery. General Wintzingerode, who was in too great a hurry to re-enter Moscow, and vainly endeavoured to shelter himself by pretending to be the bearer of a flag of truce, gained nothing by his preci-

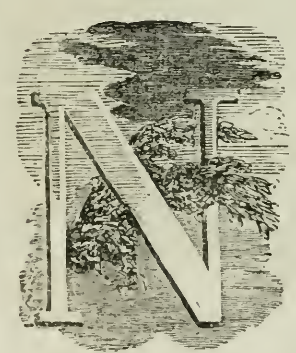
pitation but the grief of assisting, as a prisoner, in the destruction of the ancient dwelling of the czars. The holy city too, only witnessed the departure of the French, again to behold herself immediately a prey to the Cossacks and pillagers.





CHAPTER X.

Continuation of the retreat of the French; Napoleon at Smolensko. Mallet's Conspiracy.



APOLEON flattered himself with taking up his winter-quarters on the frontiers of Lithuania. "Towards the first week in November," he wrote to the Duke of Bassano, then at Wilna, "I shall have brought my troops to the square between Smolensko, Mohilow, Muisk, and Vitepsk. This new position will bring me at once nearer to St. Petersburgh and Wilna, and on the opening of the next campaign, I shall find myself twenty marches nearer my aim. It is true, that in affairs of this nature, the event sometimes turns out differently from what has been foreseen."

Unfortunately, the event will too soon justify the wisdom of this reflection!

Kutusoff, however, being informed of Napoleon's movements, had raised the camp of Tarontino, and hastened his march upon Malojaroslawetz in order to cut off the French army. Prince Eugene had already taken up a position there, which when the Russian general perceived, he determined to profit by his numerical superiority, and immediately gave the signal for battle. This was on the morning of the 24th October. The division Delzons was the first attacked; it resisted heroically, and lost, in the heat of the action, its intrepid general, who was immedaitely replaced by the major-general Guilleminot. The fight was maintained on both sides with such obstinacy, that the town was taken and retaken at least seven times. The Emperor, who had arrived, observed the whole from an eminence. The divisions Gerard and Compans coming up, put an end to the fight. Kutusoff, despairing of definitely gaining possession of Malojaroslawetz, and there establishing himself, fell back in order to cover the road to Kalouga, which he at first appeared resolved to close against the French even at the risk of a fresh battle.

In the evening, Napoleon returned to his head-quarters at Gorodnia, where he was forced to lodge in a small cabin. Informed of the menacing attitude which Kutusoff appeared to maintain, and wishing to continue his march upon Kalouga, he decided to give battle again the next day and pass over the prostrate enemy.

His generals, however, thought differently. The late battle had been so murderous, that Eugene and Davoust bivouacked on heaps of corpses, where Malojaroslawetz had stood, which had been devoted to the flames, and no longer presented aught but ruins. Prudence counselled reaching winter-quarters as quickly as possible, and avoiding all risk of thinning the ranks of the army. Since the road to Smolensko, through Viasma, remained open, it was requisite instantly to take it, and leave the Russian general fruitlessly preparing to dispute that of Kalouga. Thus said those who surrounded Napoleon, who

became indignant at such advice. "Give way before Kutusoff!" he exclaimed; "give way before the enemy when he had just been beaten, at the moment, perhaps, when he only awaits the signal for falling back himself!"

All the reports brought to head-quarters by the officers, represented Kutusoff, nevertheless, as disposed to oppose the French army and risk the battle, rather than abandon his positions, and give up the ground to the French on the road which he wished to close against them.

Napoleon was not convinced by these reports; he wished to view it all himself, and, on the 23rd, at day-break, mounted on horseback in order to visit the field of battle, and reconnoitre the camp and disposition of the enemy. Arrived near Malojaroslawetz, a clamour suddenly arose, and a confused body of Cossacks was seen advancing. His coolness remained unalterable in the midst of the panic spread around him, at the name and approach of Platoff; it was, however, requisite for the Emperor and his escort to prepare to defend themselves. Rapp had scarcely time to snatch Napoleon's bridle and say, "It is the Cossacks, turn back!" ere a fierce band galloped towards them. The Emperor, scorning flight, drew his sword, and reined his horse to the side of the road. The troop dashed past, wounding Rapp and his horse. "When Napoleon," he says in his *Memoirs*, "saw my horse covered with blood, he demanded if I had been wounded. I replied that I had come off with a few bruises, upon which he began to laugh at our adventure, although I, for my part, found it anything but amusing." The appearance of Marshal Bessières, who arrived at the head of some squadrons of grenadiers of the guard, sufficed to stay the disorder and put the Cossacks to flight. The Emperor then tranquilly continued his march, and soon found himself on the scene of the bloody combat of the preceding evening, where he was received by the young hero who had learnt to conquer under him, and who was still greatly moved at the cruel losses which his triumph had cost.

"Eugene," said the Emperor embracing him, "this combat is your most glorious feat of arms."

The visit to the field of battle, however, confirmed the reports made to Napoleon. The Russians were throwing up redoubts, consequently their resolution of barring the passage against the French was finally determined on. On the other side, the blood of the soldier became each day more precious. Napoleon had the sorrowful evidence before him of the abundance in which it had flown on the field of Malojaroslawetz. Here was sufficient to make him yield to the counsels of those who pressed him to retire at once on Smolensko, by the uncontested way of Mojaisk and Viasma. However, he did not act upon this until the morrow, the 26th, when he learnt that Kutusoff had commenced his retreat. Napoleon had nothing further to dread from the suspicion of having given way before an enemy; he might renounce his march on Kalouga, without compromising the honour of his arms.

Fom Gorodnia, he retrograded at first on Borowsk, and established himself, on the 27th, at Vereia.

On the evening of the next day he arrived at the castle of Oupinskoe. On the 29th, he halted near the abbey of Kolotskoi, where, despite his explicit orders, many wounded were still found, whom there had been no means of removing. "Let every carriage," he exclaimed, "take up one of these unfortunates!" And he not only ordered that they should begin with his own, but he willed that the physicians and surgeons of his household, Ribes and Sherminier, should attend to the sanatary service of this convoy. The weakest, as at Moscow, were to be left under the protection of such of the wounded and captive Russian officers as had been recovered by the attentions of the French. "He halted," proceeds M. de Segur, "to see this order carried into execution, and it was at a fire kindled with his forsaken wagons that he and most of his attendants warmed themselves. Ever since the morning, a multitude of explosions proclaimed the numerous sacrifices



of this kind which it already had been found necessary to make.

" During this halt, an atrocious action was witnessed. Several of the wounded, had just been placed in the suttlers' carts. These wretches, whose vehicles were overloaded with the plunder of Moscow, murmured at the new burden imposed upon them; but being compelled to admit it, they held their peace. No sooner, however, had the army recommenced its march, than they slackened their pace, dropped behind their columns, and, taking advantage of a lonely situation, threw all the unfortunate men committed to their care into the ditches. One only lived long enough to be picked up by the next carriages that passed, he was a general, and through him this atrocious procedure became known. A shudder of horror spread throughout the column ; it reached the Emperor; for the sufferings of the army were not yet so severe and so universal as to stifle pity, and to concentrate all his affections within the bosom of each individual.

"In the evening of this long day, as the Imperial column was approaching Gjatz, it was surprised to find Russians quite recently killed on the way. It was remarked that each of them had his head shattered in the same manner, and that his bloody brains were scattered near him. It was known that two thousand Russian prisoners were marching on before, and that their guard consisted of Spaniards, Portuguese, and Poles. On this discovery, each, according to his disposition, was indignant, approved, or remained indifferent. Around the Emperor these various feelings were mute. Caulaincourt broke out into the exclamation that 'it was an atrocious cruelty. Here was a pretty specimen of the civilization which we were introducing into Russia! What would be the effect of this barbarity on the enemy? Were we not leaving our wounded and a multitude of prisoners at his mercy? Did he want the means of wreaking the most horrible retaliation?'

"Napoleon preserved a gloomy silence, but on the following day these murders ceased. These unfortunate people were then merely left to die of hunger in the inclosures, where, at night, they were confined like cattle. This was no doubt a barbarity too; but what could we do? Exchange them? The enemy rejected the proposal. Release them? they would have gone and published the general distress, and, soon, joined by others, would have returned to pursue us. In this mortal warfare, to give them their lives would have been sacrificing our own. We were cruel from necessity. The mischief arose from our having involved ourselves in so dreadful an alternative."

On the evening of the same day, Napoleon reached Gjatz, where he remained near upon four and twenty hours, and on the 31st entered Viasma, where letters from Paris and Wilna awaited him, as well as the reports of Marshals Victor and St. Cyr.

Napoleon, who hoped to join the Duke of Belluna at Smolensko, and who had reckoned on the manœuvres of this lieutenant, as on those of Macdonald, St. Cyr, and Schwartz-

enberg, for maintaining his rear and flanks free from attack, for driving back Wittgenstein, in the north, on St. Petersburgh, and keeping Admiral Tchitchagoff in check, in the south, who had hastened from the banks of the Danube to the Dnieper, after the conclusion of peace with the Porte; Napoleon learnt that Victor was no longer to be found at Smolensko, nor St. Cyr at Polotsk; that Macdonald, driven back into Courland, could only communicate with Wilna, and that Schwartzenberg had allowed the Russian admiral to pass between him and the French army. Thus fortune, which had opposed his victorious march by diplomatic incidents which could not have been foreseen, opposed his retreat by military events not less expected; it pleased her to derange all the combinations, to betray all the hopes of the great man whom she had formerly loaded with her favours. But there is enough for her to do; if she succeeds in depriving him of his power, she will at least never diminish his genius and glory.

The Emperor stayed two days at Viasma; he left it on the 2nd November, at noon, and, on the 3rd, pitched his head-quarters at Slowkowo, whilst Prince Eugene, Davoust and Ney, attacked at Viasma, and on the road to Medyn, by Miloradowitz and Raeffskoi, vigorously repulsed the Russians, and maintained the order of the retreat, in the rear of the French army. If Kutusoff had arrived first at Viasma, the position of the invaders would have been extremely perilous. Butturlin, however explains the tardiness of the field-marshal, by his fear of driving the French to despair, and reducing them to the terrible alternative which they had so often rendered fatal to their enemies, of conquering or expiring.

The brilliant combat of Viasma had the effect of still further delaying the pursuing of the Russians. Their regular troops no longer attempted to stay the French army in its retrograde march. The Cossacks alone continued to annoy the rear-guard, which the Emperor had placed under the command of Marshal Ney. In order to keep them off as much as possible,



DAVOUST.

a plan was conceived which succeeded perfectly. "When any portion of a wagon gave way so as to render it necessary to abandon it," says General Gourgaud, "a long lighted match was attached to it. The Cossacks, observing the smoke issued from the covered wagon, dared not approach lest it should explode, which delayed them a considerable time."

At Michaelfska, he received a message from the Duke of Belluna, which announced to him that the marshal, after having effected a junction with the *corps* of Gouvion St. Cyr, had withdrawn towards Senno, instead of marching against Wittgenstein and retaking Polotsk. This news greatly annoyed the Emperor, who immediately wrote to Victor to march against Wittgenstein and re-capture Polotsk.

This time too, the foresight of the Emperor was deceived, his instructions inefficacious. He considered them, however, so important, and held so rigorously to their execution, that he renewed them in the night, by means of his major-general. But, on this same night, the terrible auxiliary on which the Russians had relied, and with which fortune had combined to betray the French eagles, came to pounce like an exterminating geni on the Gallic camp. An icy wind bore every where suffering and death. When day appeared, and the march had to be resumed, the horses were found frozen to death by thousands, and a cold fog enveloped the whole army. "These fogs," writes Segur, "became thicker, and presently an immense cloud descended upon it in large flakes of snow. While the soldier was struggling with the tempest of wind and snow, the flakes, driven by the storm, lodged and accumulated in every hollow: their surfaces concealed unknown abysses, which perfidiously opened beneath our feet. There the men were engulfed, and, the weakest, resigning themselves to their fate, found a grave in these snow-pits.

"Those who followed turned aside, but the storm drove into their faces both the snow that was descending from the sky, and that which it raised from the ground; it seemed bent

on opposing their progress. The Russian winter, under this new form, attacked them on all sides: it penetrated their light garments, and their torn shoes and boots. Their wet clothes froze upon their bodies: an icy envelope encased them and stiffened all their limbs. A keen and violent wind impeded respiration; it seized their breath at the moment when they exhaled it, and converted it into icicles, which hung from their beards all round their mouths.

"The unfortunate creatures still crawled on, shivering, till the snow, gathering like balls under their feet, or the fragment of some broken article, a branch of a tree, or the body of one of their comrades caused them to stumble and fall. There they groaned in vain; the snow soon covered them; slight hillocks marked the spot where they lay, such was their only grave! The road was studded with these undulations like a cemetery. . . . In the frequent falls which they experienced, their arms dropped from their hands, and were broken or buried in the snow. If they rose again, it was without them, for they did not throw them away; hunger and cold wrested them from their grasp. The fingers of many others were frozen to the muskets which they still held.

"We soon met with numbers of men belonging to all the *corps*, sometimes singly, at others in troops. They had not basely deserted their colours; it was cold and inanimation which had separated them from their columns.

"Most of them, attracted by the sight of bye-paths, dispersed themselves over the country, in hopes of finding bread and shelter for the coming night; but, on their first passage all had been laid waste to the extent of seven or eight leagues, they met with nothing but Cossacks, and an armed population which encompassed, wounded, and stripped them naked, and then left them, with ferocious bursts of laughter, to expire on the snow.

"Night then came on, a night of sixteen hours! But on that snow, which covered every thing, they knew not where



to halt, where to sit, where to lie down, where to find some root or other to eat, and dry wood to kindle a fire! Fatigue, darkness, and repeated orders, nevertheless, stopped those whom their moral and physical strength, and the efforts of the officers had kept together. They strove to establish themselves; but the tempest, still active, dispersed the first preparations for bivouacs. The pines, laden with frost, obstinately resisted the flames. When at length, fires were kindled, the officers and soldiers around them prepared their wretched repast; it consisted of lean and bloody pieces of flesh torn from the horses that were knocked up, and at most a few spoonfuls of rye-flour mixed with snow water. Next morning circular ranges of soldiers extended lifeless, marked the bivouacs, and the ground about them was strewed with the bodies of horses."

The army, however, approached Smolensko. "In how sorrowful a state," says an eye witness, "does the north wind urge the army on this town! Around the Emperor, the smile of the courtier has fled from lips that were most accustomed to it; the mask is thrown aside. Powerful minds, which have no mask to lose, are the only ones, the expression of which has not altered under the ruder marks which cold and watchfulness have impressed upon them. As for Napoleon, his grief is that of a great soul struggling with adversity.

At length, he enters Smolensko, where he flatters himself with resting his troops; Smolensko, where he no longer finds Victor to sustain the retreat of an army which the winter had so pitilessly thinned, and which now presented nought but the remains. And, as if he had not calamities sufficient before his eyes, news from Paris, came to shew him, in addition to the inconstancy of fortune, the instability of his power and dynasty, when he thought to have placed them above all attacks, and had stamped them, so to speak, with the seal of perpetuity.

A state prisoner, in close confinement, an obscure member of an almost unknown Republican association; an officer without renown, connection, or support, without any other resource than his imagination and his audacity, General Mallet, had conceived the project of overthrowing, by the aid of some false intelligence, and forged orders, the colossal power before which all Europe trembled and prostrated herself, and which appeared incapable of being shaken at its base.

On the 19th October, when the time had arrived for the destruction of the Kremlin, and Napoleon issued from Moscow, Mallet escaped from his confinement, and presented himself a few moments after, under the name of General Lamotte, to the leader of the tenth cohort of the national guard, Colonel Soulier, announced to him the death of the Emperor, as well as the establishment of a new government, and ordered him to resign the command of his *corps*. It was then two o'clock

in the morning; and the colonel was ill in bed. On the news of the death of Napoleon, he only thought of weeping, and excused his inability to rise. He ordered his adjutant, however, to assemble the cohort, and place it at the disposal of General Lamotte, which was immediately executed. Mallet, furnished with a torch, then proceeded to read to the drowsy soldiers, the journals, proclamations and decrees which he had fabricated; and this troop, composed of twelve hundred men, followed him confidingly wherever he chose to lead them.

He first marched to the prison of La Force, from which he released his two principal accomplices, Lahorie and Guidal, whom he charged immediately to arrest the two ministers of police, M. M. Savary and Pasquier.

The prefect of police did not oppose the least resistance to the orders of the two men who had formerly been his prisoners, and whom he ought to have secured.

Neither did the minister of police offer any opposition to his own arrest, nor otherwise than credit the falsehoods of Mallet, as detailed to him by Guidal and Lahorie. He was surprised in bed, and suffered himself to be conducted to La Force, where, with the prefect of police he replaced the two state prisoners, who had just arrested them.

Frochot, the prefect of the Seine, evinced the same confidence and docility. He believed the Emperor to be dead, and set about preparing the apartment which was to be used in the installation of the new government.

Mallet was less fortunate with the governor of Paris. General Hulin, instead of allowing himself to be arrested without explanation, demanded to see the orders, by virtue of which he was proceeded against, and immediately retired to his cabinet. Mallet followed him, and at the moment when the governor turned to demand some further evidence of their right to arrest him, the daring conspirator fired a pistol which wounded him in the face, and caused him to fall without killing him. A captain of the tenth cohort was present, but

the attitude of the governor, did not give him the least suspicion of the scheme of which he had been the dupe with his whole *corps*, in consequence of the credulity of his colonel.

Hulin, being wounded and fallen, Mallet repaired to the adjutant, General Doucet. There, however, he met with an inspector-general of police, who recognized, and immediately ordered him to be arrested. Mallet, beholding himself lost, endeavoured to escape the lot which awaited him, by destroying himself with a second pistol, which he had concealed in his pocket. This last resource was, however taken from him. All present, even those who till now had blindly followed, threw themselves upon and disarmed him. In a few moments, the conspirators, after having reigned for two hours in the sleeping capital, were again committed to their dungeons. The minister of police, fired upon by Mallet, was occupied in being measured for some clothes, when the order came to arrest him.

Thus was this extravagant conspiracy ended, which was like a species of night-mare, or somnambulism, for certain high functionaries, whilst the Parisian population, plunged in sleep, on awaking, found the security of the preceding evening unshaken. It only became acquainted with the nocturnal rebellion which had passed in the heart of the metropolis, by the narration of the same in the *Moniteur*, and evinced no shock but from the prompt executions which followed, costing fourteen persons their existence.

When Napoleon had read the despatch which informed him of this outbreak, he was astonished less at the audacity of the conspirators, than at the facility with which they had overcome the superior authorities, from whom might have been expected an energetic denial, and an immediate suppression of their false news and mad attempts. The most painful and firmly based reflections assailed and rendered him sorrowful. "Behold, then," said he, "on how slender a thread hangs my power! What! Is my tenure of sovereignty so frail, that a single man,

a prisoner, can suffice to compromise it? My crown is but ill-fitted to my head, if, in my very capital, the audacious attempt of three adventurers can make it totter! After twelve years of government, after my marriage, after the birth of my son, after so many oaths, my death would again have plunged the country into revolution! And Napoleon II, was he no longer thought of!"

No, he was thought of no longer! neither had it entered the mind of any person that the sacramental cry of the ancient monarchy could be applicable to the Imperial monarchy, and that the reply to Mallet and his adherents should have been: "The Emperor is dead, long live the Emperor!"

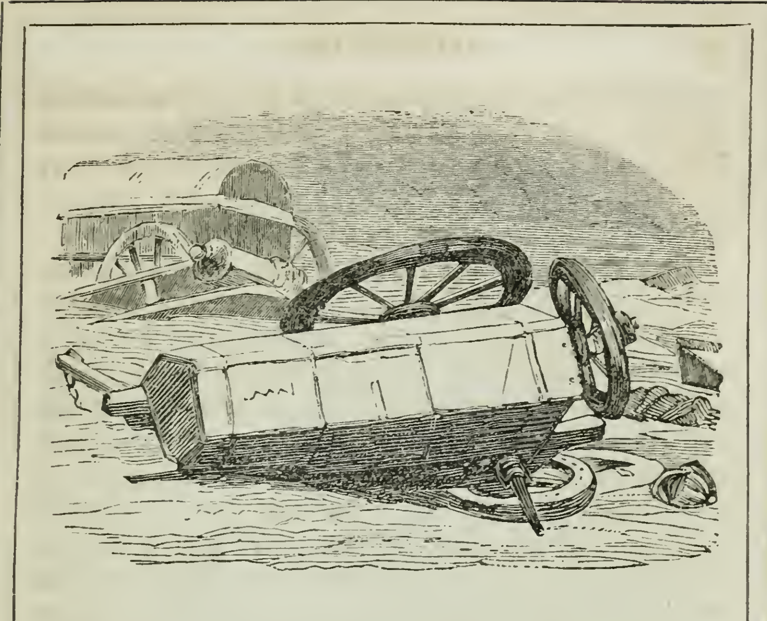
Nevertheless, the hereditary succession of the supreme power, and the order of the succession was formally guaranteed and regulated by the constitution! What, however, was this but a constitutional disposition, which the spirit of the times had not invested with its sovereign sanction; Napoleon had need to be the most skilful, the most powerful, the most glorious of all founders of dynasties; he foresees, however, that his work will not last, and his exclamation betokens an uneasy foresight. What, could it be credited, that by merely spreading a report of his death, there should have been an end to his government and his race, and that his whole edifice should have been doomed to perish with him! of this there could have been no mistake! and no one had thought of his son!!! This thought overwhelmed him with affliction. He may no longer rely on the eminent functionaries, on the chief men of the Empire, who have thus forgotten to invoke the principle on which the elevation and future events of their own families repose. It is not their fault if they have forgotten Napoleon II; it is the deed of the age, by the genius of which they are ruled, and which is by no means dynastic.

Turning to one of his bravest officers, and still alluding to the events of Paris, Napoleon said: "Rapp, misfortunes never come singly; this fills up the measure of what is passing here.

I cannot be everywhere, but I must return to my capital; my presence there has become indispensable to restore public opinion. I require men and money; great successes, and great victories will repair all."

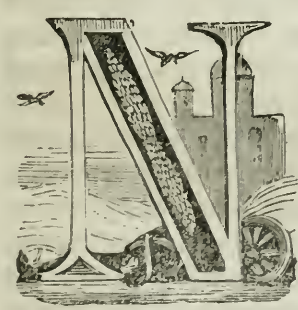
And there will be much to repair! from hour to hour the misfortunes of the army increase; and we shall shortly no longer have to note down a retreat but an immense disaster.





CHAPTER XI.

Departure from Smolensko. Frightful situation of the army. Battle and Passage of the Beresina. Return of the Emperor to Paris. 1812.



NAPOLEON could not remain long at Smolensko. Almost all the reserves which he had disposed so as to support his retreat, had been displaced by unforeseen marches and counter-marches. The stores on which he had relied, equally failed him, or were rapidly consumed and devoured in the midst of the disorder and wants of the army. Every moment he learnt some fresh news, some fatal event. Now it was the division detached upon Kalouga, which entered Smolensko after having left in the hands of Kutusoff one entire brigade; now it was Eugene, whom the passage of the Woop had cost twelve hundred

horses, sixty pieces of cannon, and all his equipage; and in the midst of so many calamities, Tchitchagoff approached, Tchitchagoff was but a few marches from the French army, and their most formidable enemy, the frost, had made the thermometer descend twenty degrees below freezing point.

Everything now had conspired against Napoleon, as formerly it had smiled upon him. One sole prop remained to his unalterable courage; this was the persevering courage of his generals and soldiers. In every rencounter, the French warriors always shewed themselves worthy of the great people who had charged them with the preservation of its glory, and worthy of the great man whose reverses they shared, as they had formerly partaken of his triumphs. At no period of their prosperity were they more intrepid. One of the combats sustained by their rear-guard, under the orders of Ney, was called by Sir Robert Wilson, *the battle of heroes*. It was at the close of this brilliant feat of arms, that the BRAVEST OF THE BRAVE, surrounded by a hundred thousand Russians, succeeded in escaping, and rejoining the French army, across an unknown country, and after having passed the Borysthenes on the ice. On learning his arrival, Napoleon, who believed him lost, exclaimed with transport: "I have two hundred millions [of francs] in the cellars of the Tuileries, and I would have given them all to save Marshal Ney."

Ney had quitted Smolensko on the 17th November, accompanied by six thousand infantry, three hundred cavalry, and twelve pieces of cannon. On the road nothing was to be seen but traces of their unfortunate companions in arms; broken armour, dismounted cannon, dead and dying horses, and sometimes even half devoured human bodies. A little beyond Krasnoi, the plains and rising ground skirting the Losuiania, were covered with the enemy to the amount of about eighty thousand, who, after having in vain summoned Ney to surrender, opened a tremendous fire of grape-shot upon his little army. Ney, undaunted, rushed at the head of three thousand



of the Guard, to assault the Russians at their batteries; but was driven back by the mere force of numbers.

The attack was, however, repeated, and the unequal contest maintained until it grew dark, when Ney withdrew from the field, as if intending to return to Smolensko. He, however, did not march far in that direction, but made for the boundary river of the Czar's hereditary dominion, which he reached in safety. A lame peasant informed them where they might pass on the ice; but from its being so thin, the troops were compelled to pass in a single file, and all the carriages were either engulphed or became a prey to the Cossacks. Ney's great object, however, was achieved, and on the 18th, the gallant *corps* reached a village where plenty of provisions and shelter were found, and a hundred Cossacks taken prisoners. On the 20th he had rejoined the Grand Army.

But heroism, the auxiliary of genius, although still sufficiently powerful to maintain the glory of the French army, could do nothing against fortune, which continued to withdraw herself, to betray and overwhelm the invaders. Already frightful events have to be deplored, but they sink into nothing beside the more terrible ones which are about to be recorded. To overthrow a man who has attained Napoleon's eminence, a violent and universal commotion is requisite which shall turn against him interest, passions, and the elements; a commotion of heaven and earth, a combination which must manifest itself by some great catastrophe. That catastrophe has arrived. He whose ruin it was to commence, shall himself describe the details. If the Emperor bitterly feels the blows of adversity for himself, his family, and especially for France, he still holds sufficient sway over misfortune to face it without weakness or despair, to speak of it with a noble resignation which does not exclude hope; the number of the bulletin where he gives his painful recital, grievously preserved in the popular traditions, will long suffice to signalize in one word the period, and the immensity of the reverses of the Grand Army: to mark in the distance the first period of the fall of the great captain.

Twenty-ninth Bulletin.

"Up to the 6th November, the weather had been perfect, and the movements of the army executed with the greatest success. The cold commenced on the 7th; from that moment we have every night lost several hundred horses, which died in bivouac. Arrived at Smolensko, we have already lost a large number of artillery and cavalry horses.

"The Russian army of the Volnia was opposed to our right. Our right quitted the line of operation of Minsk, and took for the pivot of its line of operations the line of Warsaw. The Emperor learnt at Smolensko, on the 9th, this change in the line of operations, and ascertained what the enemy was

about. Difficult as it appeared to him, to put himself in motion in so cruel a season, the fresh state of affairs compelled him to do so; he hoped to arrive at Minsk, or at least on the Beresina, before the enemy; on the 13th, he left Smolensko, and slept on the 16th at Krasnoi. The cold, which had commenced on the 7th, rapidly increased, and from the 14th to the 15th and 16th, the thermometer indicated sixteeen and eighteen degrees below freezing point. The roads were covered with frost; the cavalry and artillery horses perished every night, not by hundreds, but by thousands, especially



the French and German horses: more than thirty thousand perished in a few days; our cavalry was all dismounted; our artillery and baggage-waggons, without the means of being moved; and it became necessary to abandon and destroy a great portion of our pieces and of our warlike and commissariat stores.

"This army, so superb on the 6th, was very different on the 14th, almost without cavalry, artillery, or transports. Without cavalry, we could not inform ourselves of what was passing within a quarter of a league; without artillery, however, we could not risk a battle nor firmly await it: it was requisite to march in order not to be constrained to fight,

which the want of cannon prevented our desiring; it was requisite to occupy a certain space in order not to be turned, and that without cavalry to lead and connect the columns. This difficulty, with an excessive cold, so unexpectedly set in, rendered our situation pitiable. Those men whom nature had not endowed with souls above all the chances of fate and fortune, appeared staggered, lost their gaiety, their good humour, and dreamt of naught but misfortunes and catastrophes; those who had been created superior to all, preserved their gaiety, their ordinary manners, and beheld fresh glory in the various difficulties to be surmounted.

"The enemy, who saw on the road the traces of this frightful calamity which attended the French army, sought to profit by it. He surrounded all the columns with his Cossacks, who, like the Arabs of the desert, carried off all the trains and carriages which strayed from the road. This contemptible cavalry, good for nothing whatever but making a noise, and unable to penetrate a company of *voltigeurs*, became formidable by the favour of circumstances. The enemy, however, had always to repent any serious attempt he undertook; he was defeated by the viceroy, before whom he had stationed himself, and lost a great number of men.

"The Duke of Elchingen who, with three thousand men, formed the rear-guard, had blown up the ramparts of Smolensko. He was surrounded, and appeared to be in a critical position, from which he escaped with that intrepidity which distinguishes him. After having kept off the enemy during the whole of the 18th, and constantly repulsed him, he made a movement on the right flank at nightfall, passed the Borysthenes, and destroyed all the calculations of the enemy. On the 19th, the army passed the Borysthenes at Orcza, and the Russian army fatigued and considerably diminished, ceased its attempts. The army about Volnia had made since the 16th, for Minsk, and marched upon Borisoff. General Dombrofski defended the head of the bridge over the Borisoff with three thou-

sand men. On the 23rd he was forced, and obliged to evacuate this position. The enemy then passed the Beresina, marching on Bohr; the division Lambert constituted the advanced guard. The second *corps*, commanded by the Duke of Reggio, who was at Tscherin, had received orders to march upon Borisoff, in order to ensure to the army the passage of the Beresina. On the 24th, the Duke of Reggio met with Lambert's division four leagues from Borisoff, attacked and beat it, made two thousand prisoners, took six pieces of cannon, and five hundred baggage wagons of the army of Volnia, and drove back the enemy to the right bank of the Beresina. General Berkeim, with the 4th cuirassiers, distinguished himself by a fine charge. The enemy found safety by burning the bridge, which was more than three hundred yards wide.

"The enemy, however, occupied all the passages of the Beresina. This river is forty yards wide: there was much ice on the surface; but the banks are mere swamps for three hundred yards, which renders it a difficult obstacle to overcome.

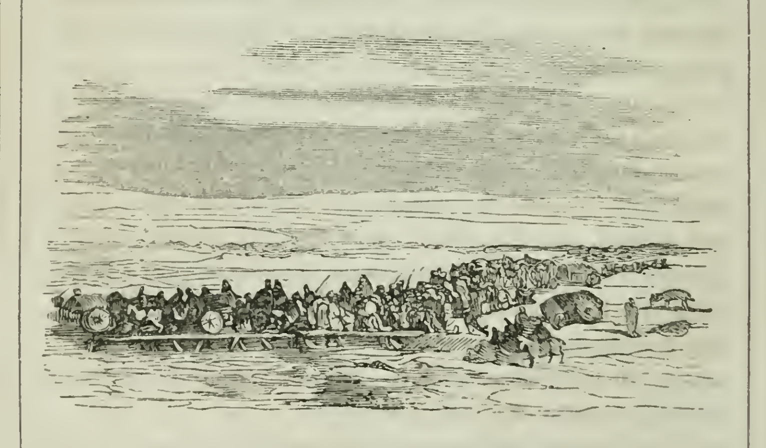
"The hostile general had placed his four divisions at the different fords where he presumed the French army would attempt to cross.

"On the 26th, at day-break, the Emperor, after having deceived the enemy by the various movements made on the day of the 25th, marched on the village of Studzianca, and immediately, despite the presence of a hostile division, threw two bridges over the river. The Duke of Reggio crossed, attacked the enemy, and continued fighting for two hours, when the foe retired towards the bridge of the Borisoff. General Legrand, an officer of the highest merit, was grievously, but not dangerously wounded. The army continued crossing during the whole of the 26th and 27th.

"The Duke of Belluna, commanding the ninth *corps*, had received orders to follow the movements of the Duke of Reggio, to form the rear-guard, and restrain the Russian army of the Dwina which followed him. The division Partonnaux

formed the rear-guard of this *corps*. On the 27th at noon, the Duke of Belluna arrived with two divisions at the bridge of Studzianca.

"The division Partonnaux left Borisoff in the night. A brigade of this division which formed the rear-guard, and which was charged to burn the bridges, left at seven o'clock in the evening; and arrived between ten and eleven o'clock, expecting to meet with its first brigade and general of division which had left two hours previously, and had not been met with on the road. Great uneasiness was felt at the search being fruitless. All that has since been learnt is, that this first brigade, which left at five o'clock, lost its road at six, by marching to the right instead of the left, in which direction it proceeded for two or three leagues; that in the night, benumbed by cold, it collected round the enemy's fires, which it had taken for those of the French army; thus surrounded, it was taken prisoner. This cruel mistake must have cost us two thousand infantry, three hundred horses, and three pieces of



artillery. Report says that the general of division was not with his column, and had marched separately.

"The whole army having crossed on the morning of the 28th the Duke of Belluna kept the head of the bridge on the left bank; the Duke of Reggio, and behind him, the whole army, was on the right bank.

"Borisoff having been evacuated, the armies of the Dwina and Volnia communicated, and planned an attack. On the 28th, at day-break, the Duke of Reggio informed the Emperor that he was attacked; half an hour afterwards, the Duke of Belluna, was on the left bank; the army took arms. The Duke of Elchingen hastened after the Duke of Reggio, and the Duke of Treviso followed the Duke of Elchingen. The combat became animated; the enemy wished to fall upon our right: General Doumerc, commanding the fifth division of cuirassiers, and who made part of the second *corps* which had remained on the Dwina, ordered a charge of cavalry by the 4th and 5th regiments of cuirassiers, at the moment when the legion of the Vistula was engaged in the woods piercing the centre of the enemy, which was overthrown and routed. These brave cuirassiers broke successively six squares of infantry, and routed the hostile cavalry which came to the aid of the infantry; six thousand prisoners, two flags, and six pieces of cannon fell into our hands.*

"On his side, the Duke of Belluna vigorously charged the enemy, beat him, took five or six hundred prisoners, and kept him at cannon-shot from the bridge. General Fourmier made a fine charge of cavalry.

"The army of the Volnia has suffered greatly in the battle of the Beresina. The Duke of Reggio has been wounded, but not dangerously; he has received a ball in the side.

"On the next day, the 29th, we remained on the field of battle. We had to choose between two routes, that of Minsk and that of Wilna. The road to Minsk passed through the

* In this glorious rencounter, the cuirassiers were commanded by Colonel Dubois, who charged at their head, and excited them by his example. In recompense of this striking service, he was appointed General, by a decree dated on the field of battle.

midst of a forest and uncultivated marshes, where it would have been impossible for the army to have existed. The road to Wilna, on the contrary, passed through a very good country; the army without cavalry, ill provided with munitions, horribly fatigued by a fifty days' march, and dragging after them their sick and wounded from so many battles, required to go in barracks. On the 30th, the head-quarters were at Plochnitski, on the 1st December at Slaiki, and on the 3rd at Molodetschino, where the army received the first convoys from Wilna.

"All the wounded officers and soldiers, besides the baggage, everything embarrassing, etc., has been sent forward to Wilna.

"The army requires to have its discipline re-established, its cavalry remounted, its artillery and *materiel* restored, resulting from its recent exposure. Repose is its first object.

"During all these movements, the Emperor has invariably marched in the midst of his guard; the cavalry, commanded by the Marshal, Duke of Istria, the infantry, led by the Duke of Dantzic.

"Our cavalry was so dismounted, that it became requisite to unite those officers who had a horse left, in order to form four companies of a hundred and fifty men each, in which generals performed the functions of captains, and colonels those of subalterns. This sacred squadron, commanded by General Grouchy, and under the orders of the King of Naples, never lost sight of the Emperor in all his movements.

"His Majesty's health was never better."

The immense disaster and loss of life in crossing the Beresina on the 28th, are scarcely alluded to in the above official bulletin. It is thus described by Segur:—

"During the whole of that day, the situation of the ninth *corps* was so much more critical, as a weak and narrow bridge was its only means of retreat; in addition to which, its avenues were obstructed by the baggage and the stragglers. By degrees, as the action got warmer, the terror of these poor

wretches increased their disorder. First of all they were alarmed by the rumours of a serious engagement; then by seeing the wounded returning from it; and last of all, by the batteries of the Russian left wing, some bullets from which began to fall among their confused mass.

"They had all been already crowding one upon the other, and the immense multitude heaped upon the bank pell-mell with the horses and carriages, there formed a most alarming incumbrance. It was about the middle of the day that the first Russian bullets fell in the midst of this chaos; they were the signal of universal despair.

"Then it was, as in all cases of extremity, that dispositions exhibited themselves without disguise, and actions were witnessed, some base, and others sublime. According to their different characters, some furious and determined, with sword in hand, cleared for themselves a horrible passage. Others still more cruel, opened a way for their carriages by driving them without mercy over the crowds of unfortunate persons who stood in the way, whom they crushed to death. Their detestable avarice made them sacrifice their companions in misfortune to the preservation of their baggage. Others seized with a disgusting terror, wept, supplicated, and sunk under the influence of that passion, which completed the exhaustion of their strength. Some were observed, (and these were principally the sick and wounded,) who, renouncing life, went aside and sat down resigned, looking with a fixed eye on the snow which was shortly to be their tomb.

"Numbers of those who started first among this crowd of desperadoes missed the bridge, and attempted to scale it by the sides, but the greater part were pushed into the river. There were seen women in the midst of the ice, with their children in their arms, raising them by degrees as they felt themselves sinking, and even when completely immerged, their stiffened arms still held them above them.

"In the midst of this horrible disorder, the artillery bridge

burst and broke down. The column, that was entangled in this narrow passage, in vain attempted to retrograde. The crowds which came behind, unaware of the calamity, and not hearing the cries of those before them, pushed them on, and threw them into the gulf, into which they were precipitated in their turn.

"Every one then attempted to pass by the other bridge. A number of large ammunition wagons, heavy carriages, and cannon, crowded to it from all parts. Directed by their drivers, and carried along rapidly over a rough and unequal declivity, in the midst of heaps of men, they ground to pieces the poor wretches who were unlucky enough to get between them; after which, the greater part driving violently against each other and getting overturned, killed in their fall those who surrounded them. Whole rows of these desperate creatures being pushed against these obstacles, got entangled among them, were thrown down, and crushed to pieces by masses of other unfortunates, who succeeded each other uninterruptedly.

"Crowds of them were rolling in this way, one over the other; nothing was heard but cries of rage and suffering. In this frightful medley, those who were trodden and stifled under the feet of their companions, struggled to lay hold of them, with their nails and teeth, but were repelled without mercy, like so many enemies.

"Among them were wives and mothers, calling in vain, and in tones of distraction, for their husbands and their children, from whom they had been separated but a moment before, never more to be united: they stretched out their arms and entreated to be allowed to pass, in order to rejoin them; but being carried backwards and forwards by the crowd, and overcome by the pressure, they sunk without being even remarked. Amidst the tremendous noise of a violent hurricane, the firing of cannon, the whistling of the storm and of the bullets, the explosion of shells, vociferations, groans, and the most frightful

oaths, this infuriated and disorderly crowd heard not the cries of the victims whom it was swallowing up.

"The more fortunate gained the bridge by scrambling over heaps of wounded, of women and children thrown down and half suffocated, and whom they again trod down in their attempts to reach. When at last they got to the narrow defile, they fancied they were safe, but the fall of a horse, or the breaking or displacing of a plank, again stopped all.

"There was also, at the outlet of the bridge, on the other side, a morass, into which many horses and carriages had sunk, a circumstance which again embarrassed and retarded the clearance. Then it was, that in that column of desperadoes, crowded together on that single plank of safety, there arose a demoniacal struggle, in which the weakest, and worst situated, were thrown into the river by the strongest. The latter, without turning their heads, and hurried away by the instinct of self-preservation, pushed on toward the goal with fury, regardless of the imprecations of rage and despair, uttered by their companions or their officers, whom they had thus sacrificed.

"But, on the other hand, how many noble instances of devotion! and why are time and space denied me to relate them? There were seen soldiers, and even officers, harnessing themselves to sledges, to snatch from that fatal bank their sick or wounded comrades. Farther off, and out of reach of the crowd, were seen soldiers motionless, watching over their dying officers, who had entrusted themselves to their care; in vain did the latter conjure them to think of nothing but their own preservation; they refused, and sooner than abandon their leaders, were contented to take the chance of slavery or death.

"Above the first passage, while the young Lauriston threw himself into the river, in order to execute the orders of his sovereign more promptly, a little boat, carrying a mother and her two children, was upset and sunk under the ice; an artilleryman, who was struggling like the others on the bridge to

open a passage for himself, saw the accident; all at once, forgetting himself, he threw himself into the river, and by great exertion succeeded in saving one of the three victims. It was the youngest of the two children; the poor little thing kept calling for his mother with cries of despair, and the brave artilleryman was heard telling him, 'not to cry; that he had not preserved him from the water merely to desert him on the bank; that he should want for nothing; that he would be his father, and his family.'

"The night of the 28th added to all these calamities. Its darkness was insufficient to conceal its victims from the artillery of the Russians. Amidst the snow, which covered everything, the course of the river, the thorough black mass of men, horses, carriages, and the noise proceeding from them, were sufficient to enable the enemy's artillerymen to direct their fire.

"About nine o'clock at night there was a still farther increase of desolation, when Victor commenced his retreat, and his divisions came and opened themselves a horrible breach through these unhappy wretches, whom they had till then been protecting. A rear-guard, however, having been left at Studzianca, the multitude, benumbed with cold, or too anxious to preserve their baggage, refused to avail themselves of the last night for passing to the opposite side. In vain were the carriages set fire to, in order to tear them from them. It was only the appearance of daylight, which brought them all at once, but too late, to the entrance of the bridge, which they again besieged. It was half-past eight in the morning, when Eblé, seeing the Russians approaching, at last set fire to it.

"The disaster had reached its utmost bounds. A multitude of carriages and of cannon, several thousand men and women, and some children, were abandoned on the hostile bank. They were seen wandering in desolate troops on the borders of the river. Some threw themselves into it in order to swim across; others ventured themselves on the pieces of ice which were floating along: some there were also who threw themselves

headlong into the flames of the burning bridge, which sunk under them; burnt and frozen at one and the same time, they perished under two opposite punishments. Shortly after, the bodies of all sorts were perceived collecting together, with the ice against the tressels of the bridge. The rest awaited the Russians."

The last sentence of the twenty-ninth bulletin says, "His Majesty's health was never better." Many persons have been found sufficiently unjust to reproach Napoleon with this as an insult to the grief of so many families whom his bulletin would fill with alarms, and whom the disasters of the army would deck with mourning.

Was it then requisite that he should also add to the consternation and anxiety which so fatal a recital would inevitably produce throughout the Empire, by leaving malevolence a pretext for renewing the lying report which had sufficed for three adventurers to shake his throne? Was it not a word of consolation and hope which he addressed to France, by telling her, after the mournful picture of her losses, that the fates and the frost, in their compined fury, had at least respected the great man in whom she had dwelt so gloriously during prosperous days, and whose life became more precious, and genius more than ever necessary, to scatter the ominous clouds which were gathering overhead?

Why should Napoleon have feared to make known to France and Europe the enormity of the reverses which he had just experienced? Why should he have felt himself humiliated by the avowal of such great disasters? His heart and head were not there in vain; neither the one nor the other had failed him in the most difficult circumstances. Foreigners, even the Russians themselves, have awarded him this testimony. At Toloszie, compressed within a space of fifteen leagues, between Kutusoff, Wittgenstein, and Tchitchagoff; surrounded by three armies constituting a mass of a hundred and fifty thousand men; beholding naught but mournful faces around

him, hearing naught save timid murmurs, displaying the depression of those souls which had always appeared to him most strongly fortified, he retained sufficient calmness and constancy, he remained sufficiently worthy of the great people and of himself to say to his soldiers: "I will yet extricate you!" and to compel his ememies to pay him this striking homage: "In this situation," says Butturlin, "the most perilous in which he had ever found himself, the great captain was no way inferior to himself. Without allowing himself to be dismayed by the imminence of his danger, he dared to measure it with the eye of genius, and still found resources where a general less skilful and less determined, would not even have suspected its possibility."

But what can genius effect against the elements? Napoleon, by dint of courage and skill, only escaped the manœuvres of the Russian generals to behold his army fall beneath the rigour of the cold, the intensity and ravages of which still increased after the issuing of the twenty-ninth bulletin. "The hand froze on the sword, tears froze on the cheeks," according to the expression of an eye-witness; "and those noble phalanxes, which had so long made Europe tremble, now presented the most miserable aspect. "We were all in such a state of depression and torpor," says Doctor Larry, "that we could scarcely recognize each other; we proceeded in mournful silence; .... the organ of sight and the muscular powers were so enfeebled that it became very difficult to follow its direction or preserve the equilibrium; death was preceded by a pallour of the face, by a sort of idiotcy, by a difficulty in speaking, and an enfeeblement of vision."

Was Napoleon to remain in the midst of these fearful wrecks of his grand army, and expose to similar danger the intelligence and the arm which still constituted the hope of France? No one would have dared to think of it. Two days after despatching the fatal bulletin, he assembled at his head-quarters of Morghoni, his chief-lieutenants, in order to announce that



he was about to separate himself from them, and return to his capital with all possible speed, where events rendered his presence necessary. "I leave you," said he, "but it is in order to raise three hundred thousand soldiers. One must be prepared to support a second campaign, since, for the first time, one campaign has not finished the war. From what cause, however, does it happen? You know the history of our disasters, and how little part the Russians have had in it. They may well say like the Athenians of Themistocles. 'We were lost, if we had not been lost!' As for us, our only conqueror is the frost, the premature rigour of which has deceived the inhabitants themselves. The counter-marches of Schwartzenberg have done the rest! Thus, the unheard-of desperation of an incendiary, an unnatural winter, cowardly intrigues, foolish ambition, some faults, treason, perhaps, and shameful mysteries, which doubtless will one day be made known, lead us back to the point whence we started. Who ever saw more favourable chances disarranged by more unforeseen contrarities?

The campaign of Russia will not the less be the most glorious, the most difficult, and the most honourable of which modern history can make mention."

On the same day, (the 5th of December), the Emperor set out for Paris, leaving the command-in-chief of the army to the King of Naples; "whom," said he, "I hope you will all obey as myself, and that the most perfect harmony will reign amongst you." He travelled in a sledge, under the name of the Duke of Vicenza, who accompanied him. Passing through Wilna, he gave Maret, Duke of Bassano, an interview, which lasted several hours. Arrived at Warsaw, he conversed with Count Stansilaus, Potocki, and visited the fortifications of Praga. He also granted an audience to the Abbé de Pradt, of which the latter gives the following curious, though evidently caricatured account:—

"I was engaged," he says, "in answering a despatch of the Duke of Bassano, when the doors of my apartment opened, and gave admittance to a tall figure. A black silk handkerchief enveloped his head; his face was buried in the furs which wrapped his neck; his walk was impeded by a double rampart of furred boots. It seemed like an apparition from another world. 'Make haste—follow me,' said the phantom. I arose, advanced towards, and catching a glimpse of his profile, recognised him, and exclaimed, 'You here, Caulaincourt! Where is the Emperor? The Duke replied, 'At the Hotel d'Angleterre, waiting for you.'—'Why not alight at the palace?' I enquired. 'He travels incognito,' was the answer. 'And whither are you proceeding?'—'To Paris.'—'But where is the army?' 'It exists no longer,' said Caulaincourt, raising his eyes towards heaven. 'What then of the victory of the Beresina, and the six thousand prisoners?'—'That is all past; the prisoners have escaped: we had other business than to mind them.'

"It was half-past one when we reached the hotel . . . . Presently the door of a low narrow room opened mysteriously, and I was introduced to and left alone with the Emperor. The

window shutters of the mean apartment were half closed. A Polish maid-servant was blowing a fire made of green wood, which resisted all her efforts to kindle, but filled the room with smoke and steam. Napoleon was walking rapidly up and down the chamber. 'Ah! Monsieur l'Ambassadeur!' he exclaimed, when he saw me; and requesting my assistance to take off his pelisse, he repressed my expressions of solicitude and sensibility by enquiring about the state of the Duchy."

"I live in the midst of agitation," said Napoleon. "It is sluggish kings only who grow fat in their palaces; my place is on horseback in the camp. I have constantly beaten the Russians; they dare not stand before me. They are no longer the soldiers of Friedland and Eylau. I quit my army with regret; but it is necessary to watch Austria and Prussia; and I have more weight on my throne than at the head of my army. What has occurred is unfortunate; but it was the effect of climate. Perhaps I staid too long at Moscow. It was fine, and I expected peace there; but the winter came on before the usual time. Ah! it is a grand political game; he who risks nothing gains nothing. There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous! It was proposed to me to enfranchise the Russian slaves; but I would not listen to it. There would have been a general massacre: it would have been horrible. I made regular war upon the Emperor Alexander; but who could have expected such a blow as the burning of Moscow. They attribute this to me; but it was themselves who did it."

Leaving Warsaw, he arrived on the 14th December at Dresden, in the middle of the night: and after a long conference with his faithful and venerable ally the King of Saxony, resumed the road to his capital. On the 18th, he was in Paris.





CHAPTER XII.

Reflections on the disastrous issue of the expedition to Russia. Napoleon receives the felicitations of the great bodies of the state. Levy of three hundred and fifty thousand men. Defection of the Prussian General Yorck. Murat abandons the army. Opening of the Legislative Body.



oscow then, has deceived Napoleon's expectations. By marching to plant his eagles on the Kremlin, the Emperor had hoped there to meet with a glorious and solid peace, the term of his warlike expiditions, the stability of his policy and power. "It was for the great cause," he has said, later, "the end of chance and the commencement of security. A fresh horizon, fresh labours were about to develope themselves, each full of the well-being and prosperity of all. The European system was already founded; the question was only to organize it. Satisfied on these great points and tranquil every where, I would also have had my *Congress* and my *Holy*

Alliance: these ideas have been stolen from me. In this reunion of all sovereigns, we should have treated of our mutual interests, and rendered a faithful account thereof to the people. The cause of the age was gained, the Revolution accomplished; it only remained to accommodate it with that which it had not destroyed. Besides, this work appertained to me; I had prepared it with a bold hand, at the expence of my popularity perhaps. No matter, I became the arch of the ancient and new alliance, the natural mediator between the ancient and modern order of things. I had the principles of the one, I was identified with the other; I belonged to both, and would have conscientiously protected each."

Wherefore did Providence refuse its supreme concurrence to the execution of so magnificent a plan? Why did it place an abyss there where Napoleon had marked the end of all his efforts, the triumph of the age, the accomplishment of the Revolution? Wherefore an immense disaster at the price of so vast a design, and in exchange for so great a result?

"Those men who have written or meditated history," says M. de Maistre, "have admired that secret power which sports with human councils."

If it be true, as Napoloen has proclaimed at St. Helena, that a time is nearing when civilization and barbarism will finally decide their quarrel, and that we shall march to the complete triumph of one or the other, it is also certain that the cause of the age cannot be fully and irrevocably gained by the consecration of a middle system, which would compel young and ancient Europe to exist pell-mell, by retaining to the one its ancient forms, its aristocratic institutions, and on some points even its ancient dynasties, and by leaving with the other its new ideas, its liberal tendencies, and democratic notions.

Beneath appearances of moderation, demanded by circumstances, the revolution and the *ancien régime* would have always internally retained their radical differences, and invin-

cible antipathies; their reconciliation would never have been otherwise than superficial and ephemeral. By endeavouring to unite, to wed them, despite the absolute incompatibility which existed between them, Napoleon undertook only an essentially transitory work, and by avowing it, only compromised his popularity. On one side the ancient society retained its bitterness, its repugnancies, and apprehensions with regard to the man who possessed the principles and the confidence of the new society; on the other hand, the new society persisted in its pretensions, and was led to fear that its principles were no longer so profoundly rooted in the man who strove to identify himself with the ancient society.

Napoleon pursuing a definitive transaction between the old and new order of things; Napoleon meditating a holy alliance of sovereigns, almost such as his enemies subsequently established on the ruins of his power, and not a holy alliance of nations, as Béranger has sung in his prophetic verses: Napoleon as mediator between the middle age and the nineteenth century, was indeed, no longer in the character which Providence had assigned him, that of an active propogator for the benefit of the future, and not that of an impartial arbitrator with a view to maintaining the past. By this conception, which too easily misled his genius, he had placed a *ne plus ultra* on the spirit of reform, the works of which were still far from being accomplished. Either from the desire of conciliation and order, or the want of repose and stability, the soul of French democracy had become stationary; it had begun to think that the ideal of contemporary politics, and the task of the hero of modern times, consisted in restraining with a powerful hand the revolutionary torrent in its narrow bed and within the ruined dikes where the feeble hand of ancient Europe had been unable to confine it. But, generous a sign as this attempt may appear, it nevertheless constituted a bold denial of the ulterior and fundamental perfectionings, which modern Europe had a right to hope for in its political organ-



JUNOT.

ization. It was, in a manner, arresting the development of the universal regeneration by seeking thus to conciliate the Revolution with that which it had not destroyed, with the ever threatening remains of European monarchies, and aristocracies; it was allowing the old *régime* a pedestal, and fixing upon this pedestal, as the last limit to social progress. Besides, as Providence had promised the nations a more free, wider, and decided emancipation than that with which the holy alliance of sovereigns would have gratified them, Providence arranged all for the accomplishment of its promises.

It commenced by delivering the Divan over to English influence, and seduced Bernadotte at the conferences of Abo; then it puffed up the pride of some, the chagrin and envy of others, counselled the slowness and counter-marches of Schwartzenberg, struck Junot with madness at Valoutina, placed the torch in the hands of Rostopchin, rendered Alexander deaf to all pacific insinuations, and Napoleon accessible to the timid inspirations of his lieutenants; succeeded thus in staggering in the soul of the hero, the absolute, and hitherto immoveable confidence which he had always had in himself, detained the conqueror of Moscow three days too long at the Kremlin, let loose prematurely against him the most rigorous of winters, buried the finest of armies beneath the snow, changed enthusiasm and admiration into discouragement and commiseration, sowed everywhere forgetfulness of the miracles operated, and of the benefits shed by the great man, introduced ingratitude into the palaces of the allied monarchs whom he had too frequently spared, and even in the royal dwelling of relations whom he had crowned, armed against him the two worlds of which he had believed himself the natural mediator, and urged at once nations to revolt and kings to treason.

It was, doubtless, an overwhelming plan which Providence drew in the combination of all these events, in the loosening of all these passions. But as nought is the result of chance where all is foreseen and ordered for the accomplishment of

certain designs; so there is no disorder in its eyes, because its sovereign hand, according to the expression of a great writer, bends it to the rule, and forces it to concur in the aim.

Kings then are about to betray! nations to revolt! "As long as prosperity lasts," says on this occasion Benjamin Constant, "the hatred of nations is nothing; but on the first reverse, this hatred bursts forth, and is invincible. The terrible winter of 1812 to 1813 destroyed the French army. Poland, Prussia, Bavaria, the Rhine, beheld Napoleon, a fugitive, regain France. From the Vistula to the Rhine the voice of the people arose; for some time the princes turned a deaf ear to it; but the armies, who, definitively, had issued from the ranks of the people, still shared their inclinations and wishes, and declared for the enfranchisement of their country. The popular torrent vanquished royal resistance, and the subjects forced their masters again to become free."

Could not the noted writer have rendered this homage to the patriotism of the people, without doing honour to the kings for a resistance which cost them but little effort, and which was very far from their wishes. But according to him, "the allies of the master of the world served him very loyally and when they boasted of having betrayed him, it was the fatuity of perfidy."

History will not adopt this opinion. The kings only served Napoleon in spite of themselves and from necessity. They could neither pardon him the origin of his power, nor the dangers and humiliations to which he had subjected them. They were never sincere in their alliance, prosperity alone made them temporarily silence their secret and persevering hatred. As for the people, they had been sincere in their admiration of the genius which governed France; and when they fancied themselves aggrieved, they did not surround him with the snares of diplomacy, they did not betray him by secret negociations or sham military manœuvres, but fought him manfully on the field of battle.

The die is then cast! Providence excites the people against Napoleon, because Napoleon now listens to the popular interests as the head of a dynasty, and not as the first magistrate of a free state. Rather listen to him replying to the deputations from the senate and the counsel of state, sent to felicitate him on his return from Russia. It is not the reason of the age which he invokes in support of his hereditary establishment, nor the spirit of the future which he interrogates in order to confound the factions which dare to menace his throne: his glance is invariably turned towards the past; he reminds the senators of the sacramental traditions of the old *régime*, in order to characterize well the government which he had wished to bestow on France, and, alluding to his son having been forgotten, on the occasion of Mallet's conspiracy he said to them; "The rallying cry of our fathers was: 'The king is dead, long live the king!' These few words contain the chief advantages of monarchy." With the counsellors of state, he still better developed his ideas, by boldly attacking liberalism, under the name of *ideology*; he accused metaphysics, which had overthrown the ancient institutions of France, of having caused all the misfortunes of the country; and, in a manner, cited the whole of the eighteenth century to appear at the bar of his tribunal, in order to be reproached with its doctrines and revolutionary acts. "It is to ideology," he says, "to those obscure metaphysics, which, cunningly searching for the first causes, wishes to found the legislation of the people on its basis, in lieu of appropriating the laws to the knowledge of the human heart and the lessons of history, to which must be attributed all the misfortunes which France has suffered. These errors may have give rise to the *régime* of the men of blood. Who, indeed, proclaimed the principle of insurrection as a duty? who flattered the people by calling it to a sovereignty it was incapable of exercising?"

It is by such recriminations that the Emperor aggravates the drawbacks already appertaining to his popularity. These

drawbacks will doubtless, leave but slight traces in history, where, the few lines, accorded with regret to the faults of the great man, will be passed over, unnoticed, in the midst of the innumerable and brilliant pages, demanded by the wonders of his reign and life, and which alone the people will desire to read, and to which posterity will not hearken.* But the contemporary generation, under the weight of its evils, would be unable to judge so accurately. Its actual impressions will for the instant hold sway over its delight at the past, and will not suffer it to foresee that it will return to-morrow to its exclusive admiration. It permits the prolongation of war, and is told on all sides that the war is the work of the conqueror who has founded his fortune, and desires to establish his domination, throughout the whole of Europe, by the glory of arms. The people of 1813 are unacquainted with the secrets of the cabinet; it knows not that Napoleon has never been the aggressor in all the campaigns which he has made, and they are allowed to remain in ignorance of the fact that English aristocracy and continental royalty obstinately pursue, in the Emperor, the representative of the French Revolution. The allied powers, on the contrary, will soon give out that they are marching to the deliverance of nations, that they only aim at overthrowing the despotism which burthens all Europe. They will proclaim themselves liberal, in order to blind their people; and Napoleon, on his side, instead of warning the French people that it is the democratic principle, and the heritage of the Rovolution which they attack in his person. will accuse the king of ingratitude in the midst of his senate, by reminding them that he saved them from the revolutionary

* Posterity commenced for Napoleon, before he was consigned to the tomb, indeed, on the day after his fall. It is already some time since Benjamin Constant wrote that which follows; "We have now forgotten the feeling of wearisomeness and aversion which, towards the close of the Empire, were attached even to the victories which France was condemned to gain. This feeling was forgotten like the mad enthusiasm wih which he had been received on his arrival from Egypt, fourteen years earlier.

torrent, that he stifled the fire of the volcano which threatened them all." *

But the moment for the great powers of the Continent, whom Napoleon had dragged in his suite to Russia, declaring themselves, had not yet arrived; the French army still covered the entire soil of Germany.

The Emperor, on his return, had evinced himself highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the chief personages of his empire, on the occasion of Mallet's attempt, and he especially mentioned, in his replies to the senate and the council of state, that a magistrate should be always ready to perish, after the example of Harlay and Molé, " in defence of the sovereign, the throne, and the laws."

"On my arrival," he has subsequently remarked, " every one candidly related to me the details which concerned himself, and which equally accused all! They freely confessed that they had been entrapped; that for a moment they believed to have lost me. ' But the King of Rome!' said I to them. ' Your oaths, your principles, your doctrine! You make me shudder for the future.' And then I wished for an example to be made, in order that it might act as a check for the future. It fell on poor Frochot, the prefect of Paris, who was assuredly strongly attached to me."

Frochot rendered destitute, the high functionaries of the Empire admonished, and the felicitations of the great bodies of the state terminated, the Emperor thought of the urgent measures which our military position required. The ordinary conscription no longer sufficed; he demanded, and the senate decreed a levy of three hundred and fifty thousand men.

However, the remains of the Russian expedition, hastily traversing Poland, at length rallied on the frontiers of Germany. Dispersed, vanquished, overwhelmed by the elements, they had still beaten the Russians in an affair in which the rear-guard was engaged, at Kowno, under the orders of Marshal Ney; and since then, Platoff and his Cossacks, although

* Speech of M. de Fontanes.

following and incessantly harrassing the French, had seemed fearful of measuring themselves with that handful of brave men, in whom still dwelt the honour, the glory, and the undying courage of the grand army. But one of those epochs have arrived, in which heroism and the genius of the man are in vain displayed in order to ward off the blows which are dealt by an invisible hand. If victory still clings to the footsteps of the children of France in the midst of their misfortunes, fate is pleased to exhibit itself more and more faithless and contrary. It had given them doubtful allies, and was about to withdraw them all, one after the other, in order to make of them implacable enemies. The auxiliary Prussian *corps* commenced. Its leader, General Yorck, who, doubtless, did not act spontaneously, and who had received his instructions from the cabinet of Berlin, treated with the Russians; and Frederick William, whose estates were still dependent on or threatened by the French armies, at first solemnly disavowed that which he had secretly ordered, but evinced himself more frank in the sequel by a complete and manifest defection.

The capitulation of General Yorck with General Diebitch, took place on the 30th December, 1812. Twenty days after, (on the 18th January, 1813), Murat, whom Napoleon had constituted his general-in-chief, precipitately abandoned the French army, and returned to Naples, after yielding the chief command to Eugene. When the Emperor was informed of this sudden departure, which he could not but regard as a scandalous desertion, he wrote to his sister Caroline: "Your husband is a very brave man on the field of battle, but when the enemy is no longer in sight, he is feebler than a woman: he has no moral courage." "I suppose," he wrote to Murat himself, "that you are not one of those who imagine the lion dead. If you make this calculation it would be false. Since my departure from Wilna, you have done me all the harm in your power: the title of king has turned your head."

This reproach was but too well founded.

By quitting the eminent post in which the Emperor had placed him, Murat had taken more care of his crown than of his glory, and it so happened that he lost the one without preserving the other. With what rapidity, indeed, do events progress. The day of Napoleon's adversity has but commenced, yet he can already foresee all the bitterness, all the adversities which are in store for him. Ingratitude has penetrated the hearts of those, who owe every thing to him, rank, fame, and fortune; it has seized on the heart of one of his relations, and sown treason therein. What may he not expect after such an example?

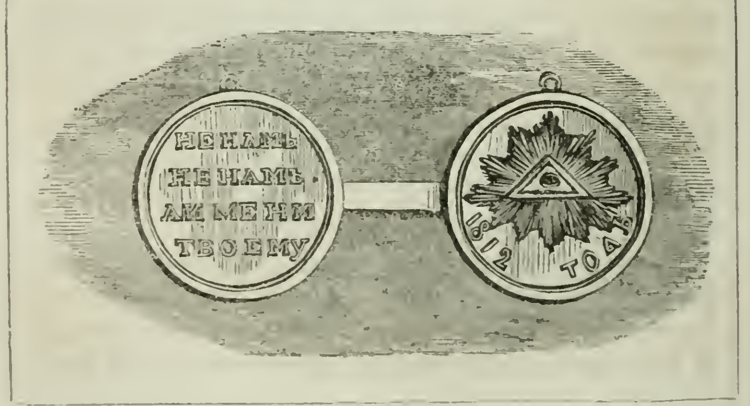
The session of the legislative body commenced on the 14th February, under these sorrowful auspices. Napoleon, who despite the absolute nullity of this assembly, still beheld in it the phantom of the noisy democracy which he had formerly disbanded at St. Cloud, continued, in his opening speech, to anathematize the liberal theories, which he had so little heeded with the senate and the council of state. He accused the English cabinet, not of following the wanderings of Pitt's policy, and obstinately exciting the kings of ancient origin against the people freed of their yoke, or eager to be so, but on the contrary, of propagating amongst these people, the spirit of revolt against their sovereigns. Regarding besides, or affecting to regard as a mere freak of fortune the reverses which he had just experienced, he dissimulated the faults of those of his allies whose co-operation had been neither active, nor frank, in the hope of retaining them, although on the eve of defection, by fresh and striking successes; and he evinced himself sufficiently confident in the future, to exclaim still with as much pride as energy: "The French dynasty reigns and shall continue to reign in Spain!"

But, in order to justify this confidence, to prepare these fresh successes, levies of men could not suffice, fresh financial resources became also requisite. Napoleon concealed naught of his projects or wants from the legislative body. "I desire

peace," said he, "it is necessary to the world! Four times since the rupture which followed the treaty of Amiens, I have proposed it in the most solemn manner. I will never conclude but an honourable peace, and one conformably to the interests and grandeur of my empire."

During the Russian campaign, France is believed to have lost about three hundred and fifty thousand soldiers; a hundred thousand were killed in the advance and retreat, a hundred and fifty thousand died from hunger, fatigue, and the severity of the climate, and about a hundred thousand remained prisoners in the hands of the Russians, not more than half of whom ever returned to France. The account has been swollen by including the jews, suttlers, women, and children, who followed the army, and by those who joined it in its retreat from Moscow, amounting to about fifty thousand persons. Upwards of sixty thousand horses were destroyed, a thousand cannon, and nearly twenty thousand wagons and carriages.

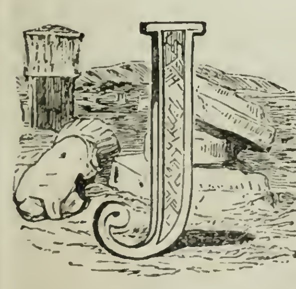
Alexander's losses have never been well ascertained; but including the population of the abandoned cities who perished for want of food and shelter, they must have far exceeded those of the invaders. In commemoration of his deliverance, the czar caused a medal to be struck, remarkable for the simplicity and literal truth of the inscription: "Not to us, not to me; but to Thy name.—January, 1812."





CHAPTER XIII.

Campaign of 1813.



JUSTLY speaking, throughout the whole of his miraculous career, which seemed to appertain as much to fiction as to history, Napoleon had never shewn himself greater than in the unequal struggle which he was compelled to maintain against inexorable destiny. Sorrowful and sublime spectacle. All that which has been given to man, in strength, constancy, magnanimity and genius, Napoleon possesses, Napoleon displays: the moral stature of the hero rises proportionately as the colossus of the hero becomes

more firm. It is human grandeur in all its brilliance, in all its energy, in its loftiest proportions, struggling with the overwhelming powers which confound without abasing it.

The Emperor has declared his misfortunes, his desire, his hope to France. At his voice, the people is moved; it has forgotten its griefs and given its children. In a few months, a fresh army has heen formed; it is ready to take the field. The remains of the grand army await it on the Elbe.

Before quitting Paris, Napoleon warned by Mallet's outbreak, endeavoured to render his government secure from the dangers to which his absence might give rise, by entrusting the exercise of the supreme power to the Empress Maria Louisa, and establishing about her a regency council. In order to rid himself of the inconveniences which his rupture with the Holy See might eventually cause, he strove to bring Pius VII. to an arrangement, and succeeded in making him sign a fresh Concordat, which was immediately made public, although the pope, yielding to a fresh influence, had already wished to retract.

But in the midst of the vast preparations which were being executed under his active and irresistible impulse, Napoleon foresaw that, arrived on the Elbe, he would not only have to face the armies of the czar, but that his allies of Berlin and Vienna, who had always been his secret enemies, would evince their hostile dispositions. The last levy of three hundred thousand men, appeared to him, therefore, insufficient, and he ordered a fresh one of a hundred and eighty thousand. The people, although no longer possessed of the enthusiasm of the time of Marengo and Austerlitz, still submitted with patriotic resignation to the further sacrifice which circumstances rendered necessary. The wealthy classes, however, who are the most interested in the defence of the country, strove to escape, by pecuniary payments, the tribute of the conscription. Every family, moved by the approaching dangers of the soldiers, exhausted its last resources, in order to liberate its members

from military service. Napoleon was not ignorant that this repugnance to the profession of arms, continued to increase in proportion as the perils and wants of the Empire augmented. It is a contagion, however, impossible to be arrested: the effects thereof can be attenuated only. If the upper classes have hitherto dearly purchased the right to remain strangers to the fatigues of the soldier, now that the safety of the empire requires it, this right must be rendered less absolute, and they must be hindered from isolating themselves entirely by means of their gold, from the sanguinary struggle in which the country is involved. It will, therefore, be their duty to furnish a contingent of ten thousand men, which will be formed into four regiments of guards of honour, and no pecuniary sacrifice can exempt from this service extraordinary, the sons of families indicated by the authorities. A *sénatus consulte* of the 3rd April, 1813, sanctioned this measure.

However, the thunder of the cannon of the Beresina had roused the head of the house of Bourbon, and raised his hopes. The counter-revolution, hitherto defeated by an almost fabulous display of civil courage and military heroism, now seemed possible to Louis XVIII. He thought that if the warlike virtue of the French soldier remained unalterable in the midst of reverses, the patriotic enthusiasm of the citizen was at least sufficiently cooled to warrant the stranger in hoping to meet no longer with the universal resistance which had rendered all anterior coalitions in France vain. Filled with this idea, the pretender published in England, and caused to be distributed throughout the continent, a proclamation, in which he particularly addressed himself to the lassitude of the people, adroitly supporting the common opinion which attributed to Napoleon the prolongation of the war, and promising, among other things, " to abolish the conscription." The Emperor seemed to attach no importance to this publication; he did not even take the opportunity of keeping watch over or separating the ancient royalists with whom he had

filled all the administrations, and to whom he had even confided some of the first posts of the state. But that which was passing in Germany required all his attention and solicitude.

The storm already rumbled over the Hanseatic towns; the soil of Germany mined at all points by secret fraternities, was threatened with frightful explosions; the popular insurrections had already led to the suspension of the constitution in the 32nd military division (Hamburgh). The students of the universities were at the head of this movement; they preached hatred of the French name, and horror of the foreign yoke, by invoking the liberal ideas which had constituted the safety and glory of France; and the princes, who had been so long armed against these very ideas, secretly encouraged, or openly favoured that which they have since called "demagogic proceedings."

Strange position! The war of 1813 is, in fact, for royalty but a continuation of the war of 1792; it is still the war against the Revolution; but their language, nevertheless, offers the most striking contrast to that of Pilnitz and Coblentz! Instead of continuing to call to their aid the political and religious prejudices of the people against the French democracy, they now call upon the intelligence, the philosophic reason, and the patriotism of their subjects, in the name of liberty, against the despotism of France. Liberty, therefore, has done more than vanquish kings; it has condemned them to hypocrisy, it has converted nations. It is especially in Prussia that this great change is manifest. Napoleon will perceive later that a frank propagation would have prepared powerful auxiliaries for him there where his reverses caused him to meet with implacable enemies; and he will be heard to say with regret, "My greatest fault, perhaps, was not having dethroned the King of Prussia, when I could have done it so easily. After Friedland I should have separated Silesia from Prussia, and abandoned this province to Saxony; the King of Prussia and the Prussians were too much humiliated not to seek to

avenge themselves on the first occasion. If I had acted thus, if I had given them a free constitution, and delivered the peasants from feudal slavery, the nation would have been content." (O'MEARA).

Prussia, therefore, is decidedly hostile, and not only the nation which Napoleon has imprudently left in chains, but also the prince whom he has generously maintained on the throne. The semblance of reproof to which General Yorck was subjected by his sovereign, could not long cover the dispositions of the cabinet of Berlin, which evinced itself each day in acts of malevolence and hostility. The Emperor is impatient to take vengeance for this defection, and to punish the liar who has concealed it for two months. Early in April by an official procedure, he solemnly enters upon the war, which the Prussian monarch has been actively proceeding with without daring to declare it, and hold himself in readiness to march towards the Elbe.

But another enemy appears among the powers of the North. Bernadotte no longer confines himself to treating with the Russians, he is anxious to do battle with the French. In August 1812, and at the famous interview at Abo, he had said to Alexander, who was firmly disposed to reject all pacific proposals: "This resolution will deliver Europe!" And the Czar, touched by the words and the obsequious manners of the old soldier of the French Republic, had guaranteed to him the possession of the throne of Sweden, and even held out hopes to him of the crown of France. After the disasters of the campaign of Moscow, Bernadotte believed the moment to have arrived when the hopes with which Alexander had amused him, were to be realized, and openly joined the coalition against his native country, and the man he was indebted to for his elevation; and under pretence of exclusive devotedness to the interests of his devoted country, he sought to satisfy the inveterate jealousy manifested at the 18th Brumaire, and to realize the false hopes with which a skilful prince had duped

him. Napoleon observed, "Had he but judgment equal to the importance of his situation, had he been as good a Swede as he pretended, he might have re-established the lustre and power of his new country, and have retaken Finland and St. Petersburgh before I had reached Moscow. But he gave way to personal resentment and a foolish vanity—he was overpowered by his greatness—finding himself sought after by sovereigns, and in the confidence of politicians, as well as the friendship of an Emperor of the Russians, one who spared him no flattery."

Before he entered the lists, and placed himself under the banners of the enemies of France, Bernadotte, wishing to give a colour to his resolution in the eyes of Europe and posterity, by interposing the commercial interests of Sweden, compromised by the continental blockade, wrote Napoleon a letter, which he intended to serve as an apology for his conduct, and in which he accused him who had been by turns his master and his rival, of having caused all the preceding wars, and with shedding the blood of millions of men for the success of a system that wounded the rights, and ruined the commerce of all nations. "The calamities of the continent," said he in conclusion, "require peace; and your majesty ought not to reject it."

Napoleon did not reject it, but he only wished for it upon the terms of the engagements entered into at Tilsit.

Bernadotte, who had complimented Alexander on his warlike perseverance, knew well that it was not to the cabinet of the Tuileries that the prolongation of hostilities was to be attributed, but to those who paid no attention to the promised faith at Tilsit, and the friendship sworn at Erfurt.

It was only on the battle-field that Napoleon could reply to such insolent reproaches and recriminations from his former lieutenant, who, according to the expression of the *Mémorial*, was "about to give up to our enemies the key of our politics, the tactics of our arms, and lead them to our sacred land."

The Emperor now quitted St. Cloud, in the middle of April, for the new rendezvous that northern Europe afforded in Germany. The French army, obliged to replace numerous garrisons in the towns it had left from Dantzic to Magdeburg, was then established on the Saale, and under the orders of the viceroy. Dresden and Leipsic were in the power of the Prussians and Russians. The King of Saxony had been compelled to abandon his states, and seek sheltei under the *cannon* of France. On all parts the enemies of Napoleon gained ground, taking advantage of his absence from his troops.

But Napoleon is about to re-appear in the camp. He arrived at Erfurt on the 23rd of April, whilst Marshal Ney was taking possession of Weissenfels, after a contest which caused him to say he "had never, at any one time, seen so much enthusiasm and *sang froid* in the infantry." The new campaign was thus gloriously opened by the same soldier, who, through so many disasters, so valiantly closed the last.

The result of this first success was to throw the enemy upon the right bank of the Saale, and to operate the junction of the army, which the viceroy brought with him from Poland, with that which the Emperor had marched from France. Napoleon formed his head-quarters at Weissenfels, and had three bridges thrown over the Saale. There he learned one of those *traits* of courage and boldness with which the French military annals are filled, and which furnished him with an opportunity of proving, to the satisfaction of National pride, that misfortune had not changed the moral supremacy and invincible character of the French soldiers. A Prussian colonel at the head of one hundred hussars, having hemmed in a party of thirteen grenadiers, of the 13th line, between Saalfield. and Jena, commanded them to surrender; in reply to which a sergeant took aim at, and laid him dead. The other grenadiers commenced an irregular fire, killed seven of the enemy, and the remainder of the hussars fled.

On the 1st of May, Marshal Ney pursued his successes,

and within sight of Napoleon, with the Souham division, of which he formed four squares, and shouting "*Vive l'Empereur!*" pushed through the defile of Poserna, which was defended by six pieces of cannon, and three lines of cavalry; the divisions Gerard, Marchand, Brenier and Ricard followed, and in a few hours fifteen thousand cavalry, under the command of Wintzingerode, were driven by fifteen thousand foot, from the beautiful plain which extends from the heights of Weissenfels to the Elbe.

The cavalry of the guard, commanded by Marshal Bessières. supported the infantry, and although not engaged, they afforded considerable service in the pursuit. Unhappily, Bessières was struck by a spent ball in the breast, and fell



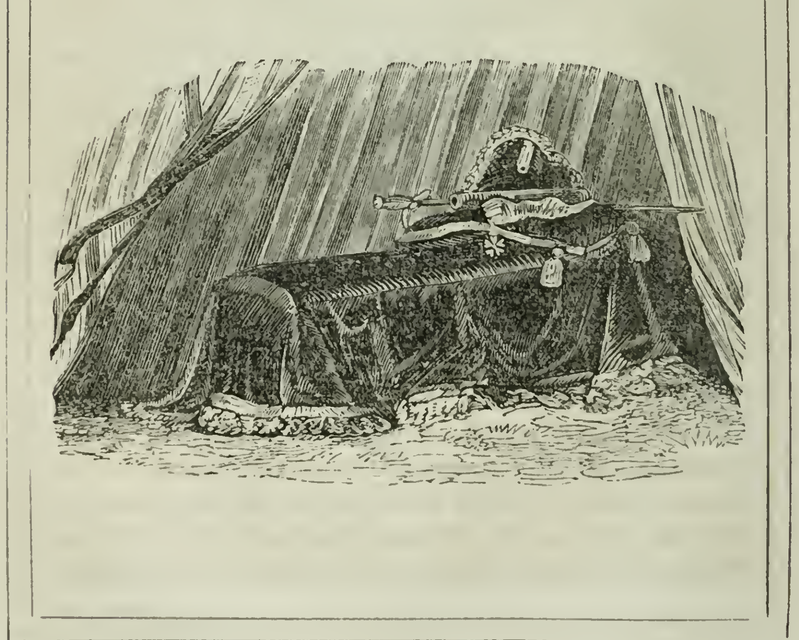
dead from his horse. The gallant officer had commanded the household troops, from the establishment of the *corps* of guides, during the campaign in Italy, and was sincerely lamented by his friend and master. "He was justly entitled," Napoleon wrote to his consort, "to the names of brave and

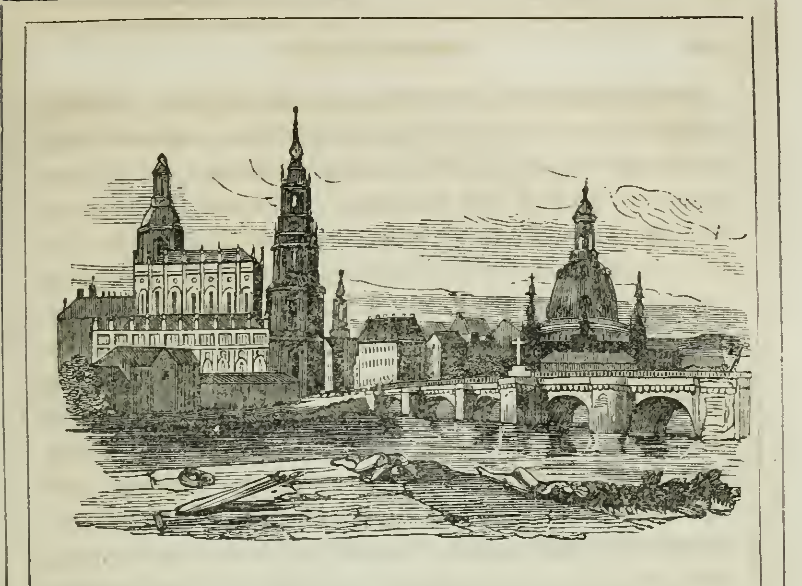
good. He was alike distinguished for his skill, bravery, and prudence; for his great experience in the direction of cavalry movements; for his capacity in civil affairs, and his attachment to the Emperor. His death on the field of honour is worthy of envy, it was so rapid as to have been free from pain; and his reputation is without blemish—the finest heritage he could have bequeathed to his children. There are few whose loss could have been more sensibly felt. The whole French army partakes the grief of his Majesty, on this melancholy occasion." "None," says the writer mostly averse to Napoleon, "wore the ducal coronet with more unsullied honour than did Bessières that of Istria."

On the 2nd May, the Emperor established his head-quarters at Lützen. The guard, under Marmont, with whom was the Emperor, formed the right of the army; Ney's *corps*, occupying the village of Kaia, was placed in the centre, and the viceroy, on the Elster, commanded the left wing. The Allies led on by the czar, and the King of Prussia, had made rapid marches from the North in order to prevent Napoleon taking possession of Leipsic; and finding that the Emperor's reinforcements had not yet arrived, determined on attacking him in the already memorable field of Lützen. Before day-break on the 2nd, Blucher crossed the Elster with the allied troops, and attacked Ney's position. At first, being supported by a formidable cavalry, its shock was irresistible. Ney was already giving way, when Napoleon, although assailed in flank while advancing, pushed forward a strong body of the guard to sustain the centre, and ordered both wings to wheel round, thus outflanking and surrounding the main body of the enemy. The village of Kaia was taken and retaken several times, but at length remained in the hands of Gerard. The centre next advanced, supported by the guard, and eighty pieces of artillery, which latter, carried fearful destruction into their ranks. The Allies, unable to withstand this fire, and learning that the wings of the French army were closing

upon them, and that their reserve was attacked, beat a retreat, which, fortunately for themselves, they were enabled to effect in comparatively good order, thanks to their immense numbers and powerful cavalry. Napoleon's victory was less complete than was desirable; nevertheless, he retained possession of the field, having lost but ten or twelve thousand men, while the Allies lost above twenty thousand.

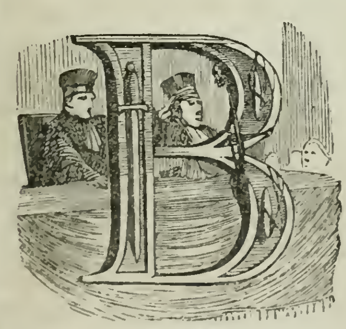
Napoleon immediately sent despatches to every court in alliance with France to announce the event. "In my young soldiers," he said, "I have found all the valour of my old companions in arms. During the twenty years that I have commanded the French troops, I have never witnessed more bravery and devotion. If all the Allied Sovereigns, and the ministers who direct their cabinets, had been present on the field of battle, they would have renounced the vain hope of causing the star of France to decline."





CHAPTER XIV.

Napoleon at Dresden—Proposals for a General Congress—Battle of Bautzen —Death of Duroc—Retreat of the allied troops—Austria joins the Allies, 1813.



BEATEN at Lûtzen, Alexander and the King of Prussia retired to Leipsic, thence to Dresden, and finally, being pursued, to Bautzen, where they entrenched their camp, in order to await the arrival of the numerous forces which were marching to join them.

On the 11th May, Napoleon entered Dresden, and on the 12th, the King of Saxony, who had been compelled by the Allies to retire to Prague, was restored to his capital. As the old king and the Emperor rode side by side through the streets, the populace rent the air with their shouts.

On becoming master of Dresden, the Emperor, as usual, sent proposals of a pacific nature to the Allies, suggesting that a general congress should assemble at Prague, to treat for peace. Neither Russia nor Prussia, however, would listen favourably to what they considered would be an admission of their incapacity to realize their boast of speedily dethroning "the scourge and tyrant of Europe and mankind." Austria had been sounded, and expressed her willingness to join the coalition on the first favourable opportunity. Napoleon was not blind to all this, but perfectly comprehended the nature of the intrigues in progress. "I beheld," he afterwards said, "the decisive hour gradually approaching. My star grew dim. I felt the reins slipping from my hands. Austria, I knew, would avail herself of any difficulties in which I might be placed to secure advantages to herself; but I had resolved on making the greatest sacrifices. The choice of the proper moment for proclaiming this resolution was the only difficult point, and what chiefly occupied my attention. If the influence of physical force be great, the power of opinion is still greater. Its effects are magical. My object was to preserve it. A false step, a word inadvertently uttered, might for ever have destroyed the illusion. While successful, I could offer sacrifices honourably, and the idea of my superiority remained unimpaired."

Napoleon, finding his proposals rejected, immediately sent Prince Eugene to Italy, in order to organize an army of defence against the time, when the Emperor Francis would declare for the Allies, and endeavour to recover his lost possessions in Lombardy.

The Allies were now compelled to concentrate their whole force on Bautzen, in order to enable them to resist an attack should such be made. Bernadotte, on whose assistance so much reliance had been placed, halted at a safe distance from the scene of action, in order to be ready to retire, if necessary, without hazarding an engagement.

Napoleon remained for a week at Dresden, before again opening the campaign, in order to ascertain the result of his pacific overtures; but finding them fruitless, he commenced his march on Bautzen on the 18th, having already sent Marshal Ney to advance towards Spremberg. The Emperor reached the formidable position of the Allies on the 21st, which he found to be situated a little way in the rear of Bautzen, with the river Spree in front; a chain of wooded hills, and various well-fortified eminences to the right and left, occupied by the Allies. The action commenced by the movement of a column of Italians, who were intended to turn the Russian flank; this body, however, was attacked and dispersed before Marshal Ney could support them. The remainder of the day was spent in passing the Spree, which was effected without molestation.

Having bivouacked in the town of Bautzen for the night, the Emperor resolved on the following day to turn the camp of the enemy, instead of storming it. Ney, therefore, made a large circuit round the extreme right of the Russians, while Oudinot engaged their left, and Soult and the Emperor attacked the centre. For four hours did the Prussians maintain their ground against the repeated charges of Soult, several times losing and regaining the heights forming the key to their position. The slaughter was dreadful on both sides; but at length, Blucher was driven back, and the French left in undisputed possession. Ney had now gained the rear of the Allies, and poured in murderous volleys of shot on their dispirited masses. The Allies, panic-striken, commenced their retreat with such celerity as to gain time to rally on the roads leading to Bohemia, all others being closed against them. This well-fought day was brought to a close with very unimportant results, neither guns nor prisoners having been taken. General Bruyères, at the head of the cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard, was struck down by a bullet in the moment of success. This day was signalized also by another

loss, still more distressing for Napoleon, than all those which he had hitherto suffered, more trying to his heart than those even of Bessières and Lannes. About seven o'clock in the evening, the grand marshal of the palace, Duroc, was conversing on a slight eminence, and at a considerable distance from the firing, with Marshal Mortier and General Kirgener, all three on foot, when a cannon-ball aimed at the group, ploughed up the ground near the Duke of Treviso, ripped open Duroc's abdomen, and overthrew General Kirgener, who remained dead on the spot.

As soon as the Emperor was informed of this fatal event, he hastened to Duroc, who still breathed, and had preserved



all his coolness. Duroc pressed the hand of Napoleon and bore it to his lips. "All my life," he said to him, "has

been devoted to your service, and I only regret its loss for the use which it might still have been to you!"—"Duroc," replied the Emperor, "there is another life! it is there that you will await me, and that we shall one day meet."—"Yes, sire; but that will be in thirty years, when you shall have triumphed over your enemies, and realized the hopes of our country. I have lived as an honest man; and have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave a daughter, your majesty will be a father to her."

Napoleon, deeply moved, then took the right hand of Duroc in his own, and remained for a quarter of an hour with his head resting on the left hand of his old comrade, without being able to proffer a word. Duroc was the first to break the silence, in order to spare the soul of the great man further laceration, who, in becoming his master, had not ceased to be his friend. "Ah! sire," he said to him, "go hence! this spectacle pains you!" Napoleon yielded to this last solicitation of friendship, he quitted him unable to say aught but these words: "Adieu then, my friend!" and he required to support himself on Marshal Soult and Caulaincourt, in order to regain his tent, where he would receive no person the whole night.

On the following day, General Reynier obtained a fresh advantage over the Russians, at the affair of Gorlitz. On the 24th, Marshal Ney forced the passage of the Neiss, and on the 25th, in the morning, he was beyond the Quiess, making his entry into Buntzlau, where the Emperor arrived in the evening. It was in this town that old Kutusoff had died a few weeks before.

A slight check, experienced on the 26th by General Maison. before the town of Hainault, did not long arrest the course of success, and the victorious march of the French army. Two days after, General Sebastiani seized, at Sproltau, a considerable convoy, whilst Marshal Oudinot fought the Prussian *corps* of Bulow at Hoyerswerda.

The alarm which had already manifested itself at Berlin, began to prevail at Breslau, which was menaced by Lauriston. The allied sovereigns, although still resolved to make war, as long as the public right of ancient Europe had not replaced the French system, felt, nevertheless, the necessity of suspending hostilities, so as to enable them to recover from the daily defeats which they had evinced for the last month, and to afford Austrian slowness time to prepare the defection which was about to turn against Napoleon all the chances of the campaign. On the 29th, at ten o'clock in the morning, Count Schouwaloff, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, and the Prussian General Kleist, presented themselves at the French advanced posts, in order to propose an armistice, which the Duke of Vicenza negociated with them, in the first instance, at the convent of Watelstadt, near Lignitz, and afterwards at the neutralised village of Peircherwitz, where it was concluded and signed on the 4th of June, three days after the entry of Lauriston into the capital of Silesia.

The term of the armistice was fixed for the 20th July. Napoleon insisted upon the acceptance of an offer of a congress at Prague; and in order to impede the dark and hostile march of the Aulic council, he proposed to refer to the mediation of the Emperor of Austria.

Foreign diplomacy avoided declaring itself. It only wished to gain time; and, with this view, M. de Metternich knew how to profit by the consideration and deference which Napoleon evinced towards his father-in-law, in order to obtain from the victor of Lutzen and Bautzen, the prolongation of the armistice until the 10th August. But this delay expired, Prussia and Russia finding the moral consequences of the first successes of the French troops sufficiently enfeebled, and Austria, having at her ease taken all her measures to be well prepared for defection, and to render it as fatal as possible to the French army, the generals of Alexander and Frederick William announced the conclusion of the armistice on the

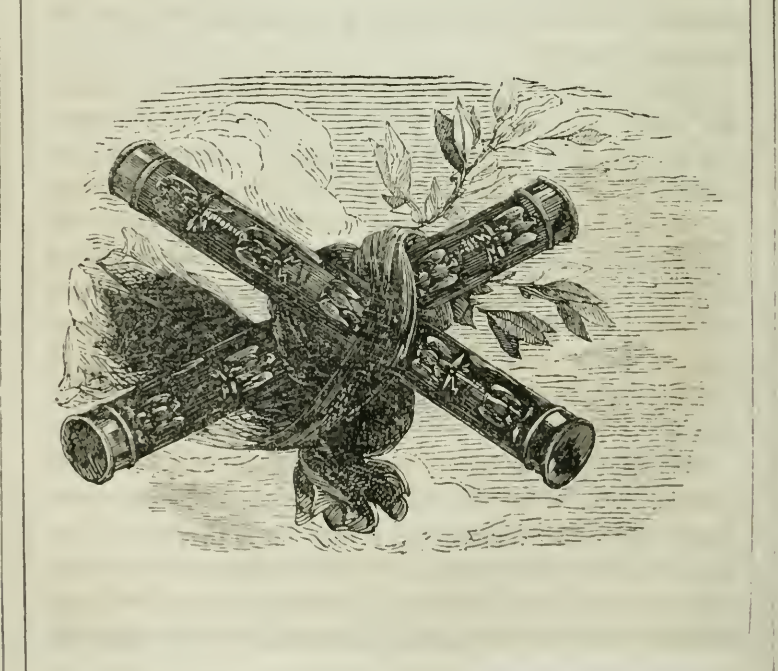
11th August, at noon, whilst the minister of the Emperor Francis addressed to the Gallic ambassador at the court of Vienna, M. de Narbonne, the declaration of war by the Austrian cabinet against France. It was then that Napoleon discovered the depth of the abyss on which he had set his foot, by allying himself to the house of Lorraine, by seeking to engraft the glory of his young dynasty on the pride of the ancient royal races.

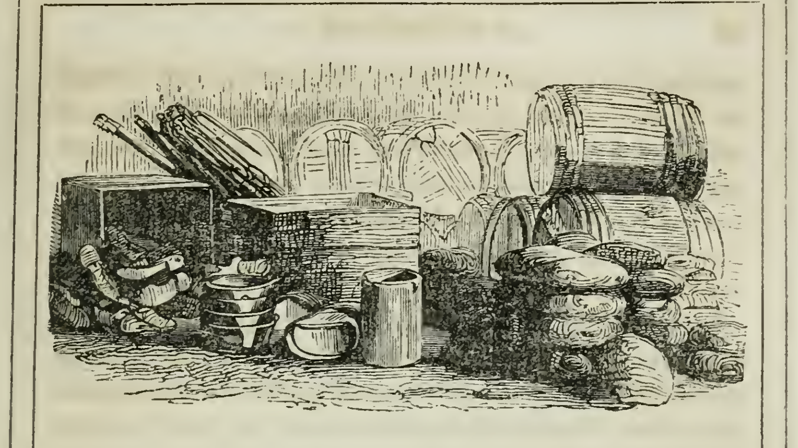
About this time a judicial event caused great scandal throughout the empire. The receivers of the impost duties at Antwerp, accused of depredation, and notoriously guilty had escaped the punishment which they had incurred, by corrupting the members of the jury. As soon as the Emperor was informed of this deplorable acquittal, he testified the greatest indignation thereat, and hastened to write to the chief judge, minister of justice, to bid him establish an enquiry into the shameful manœuvres which had prepared the impunity and triumph of the crime.

"Our intention," he wrote, "is that in virtue of paragraph 4 of article 55 of title 5 of the constitutions of the empire, you do present to us, in a privy council, a plan of *sénatus consulte* in order to annul the judgment of the court of assizes at Brussels, and send this affair to the court of Cassation, which shall appoint an imperial court before which the process shall be recommenced and judged, the chambers united and without jury. We desire that, if corruption be so active as to elude the effect of the laws, the corruptors should know that the laws, in their wisdom, know how to provide for all things."

This was giving to the Imperial dictatorship its widest extension. The will of the master acknowledged naught above itself, neither in the domain of justice nor in that of politics; and, when the public moral appeared to him scandalously outraged, he considered a striking reparation necessary, whatever violence might be done to the constitutional tenets. Although

this contempt of the legal forms and warrantries had no other aim than assuring to the law its efficaciousness, to depredation and crime their just punishment, those men who occupied themselves before all things with the dangers of arbitrary government, and who beheld, in a like example, the complete ruin of the independence of the judicial power; those men exclaimed, supported by the authority of Montesquieu, that when the executive power interfered with the judgments, there was tyranny in the government. Of this number was the prefect of Antwerp, even the upright Voyer d' Argenson. He preferred abdicating his functions to lending his concurrence to the sequestration of the property of the acquitted persons accused, during the second trial to which they were subjected.





CHAPTER XV.

Continuation of the Campaign of 1813.



UNCHANGED was the determination of the sovereigns of the North, and the princes of Germany, to overwhelm Napoleon with their united forces; a new rendezvous seemed fixed at Dresden, whither they repaired from all sides, not in order to recompose the drawing-room of kings, and the adulative circle of 1812, with the intention of forming round the French Emperor a ring of implacable enemies.

Two hundred thousand Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, commanded by the Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzenberg, rapidly traversed Bohemia, in order

to invade Saxony, and take up a position on the left bank of the Elbe. A hundred thousand men, under the orders of Blucher and Sacken, manœuvred in Silesia; and a hundred and ten thousand men, amongst whom figured the numerous *corps* of volunteers which German patriotism had given rise to, advanced on the line from Hamburgh to Berlin, to encounter the French.

The advantage of numbers consequently appertained incontestibly to the allied powers, who met, moreover with a formidable auxiliary in the insurrectional spirit of the Germanic population. So many favourable chances, so many elements of success, nevertheless, did not suffice to make the coalition hope to vanquish the French Revolution in the person of the most illustrious of her sons. It had required to gain, to seduce two other sons of this same Revolution, and to obtain from them the secret of the military science and warlike pomp which had constituted the greatness of their parent, and led to their own elevation.

Moreau, suddenly preferring the familiarity of an autocrat to the hospitality of a free people, had abandoned the happy land of Washington, in order to act the part of intimate counsellor, and he was then with the grand army of Bohemia, under the Muscovite standard, opposing the flag of France. Bernadotte, according to the expression of the *Mémorial*, "gave to the enemy the key of our politics, the tactics of our armies; he shewed him the road to the sacred territory!" It was he who commanded before Berlin.

The French nation, then, had wisely bestowed its admiration, its esteem and confidence, when, at the period of the 18th Brumaire or under the Consulate, it had refused to attach the destinies of the Revolution to any other name than that of Bonaparte, and when it had proclaimed this name as the most exalted of the patriots, without permitting itself to be deceived by certain allurements of inflexible republicanism, and in spite of certain isolated protestations which Bernadotte

and Moreau, the Brutus and Cato of the period, made. The leader of the opposition of the year VIII now replaces Brunswick; the leader of the opposition of 1804 has succeeded Suwaroff. God has willed it thus, in order that the reason and enthusiasm of a great nation should be justified, both in him whom it had chosen, and in those whom it had rejected.

It matters little now that Bernadotte and Moreau render the aid of their experience and their arm, fatal to the fortune of Napoleon: if he be overwhelmed, he will still be, at the moment of his fall, that which he was on the day of his elevation, "the man of France," whilst his ancient rivals will find in success itself naught but shame and remorse eternally attached to tho title of renegades and servants of the stranger.

Nevertheless, it is but justice to establish a distinction between Bernadotte and Moreau. Bernadotte, deceiving himself as to the nature and extent of his duties towards France and his adoptive country, or failing to recognize the true interests of the latter, might have regarded himself more as a Swede than a Frenchman, and consequently have acted. Moreau had no excuse.

Fear was also entertained for the fidelity, for the glory of Murat. . . It is written on one of the pages of his destiny, that he shall deny, that he shall betray his benefactor, his friend, his brother! But the hour of felony and opprobrium has not yet struck for him. On the 14th August, Murat reappeared at the camp of Dresden, and he still came to fight the enemies of Napoleon and of France.

The campaign, however, recommenced under favourable auspices for the French army. Napoleon marched to encounter Alexander and the King of Prussia, forced the defiles of Bohemia, took possession of Gobel, Rumburg, and Georgenthal, and, after advancing to within twenty leagues of Prague, returned to Zittau, whence he departed in all haste to join the army of Silesia, which had need of his presence. On the 21st, at day-break, he was at Lœwenberg, where he had bridges

thrown over the Bober, which he crossed during the day, despite the enemy's fire, who was overthrown and pursued as far as Goldberg. On the 23rd there was a fresh attack. General Gerard, who defiled to the left, broke and dispersed a column of twenty-five thousand Prussians, whilst, on the right, Flensberg was taken and retaken, and the rout of the Allies at length decided by an impetuous and murderous charge of the 135th regiment.

But all these advantages, gained in Silesia, remained without influence on the march of the grand army of Bohemia, which menacingly advanced on the capital of Saxony. Napoleon, advised of this movement, immediately left the command of the army of Silesia to Marshal Macdonald, and hastened with Ney to succour Dresden. The town was already enveloped by numerous masses defiling from all parts to annihilate the feeble army of Marshal St. Cyr, which was entrenched behind the palisades of the faubourgs. From the windows of his palace, the old king assisted in the devastation of the beautiful country surrounding his capital, and mingled his grief with the consternation of his subjects. Every thing announced that Dresden was about falling into the power of the Austro-Russians, and that Marshal St. Cyr could not long resist Schwartzenberg. The fidelity of the German troops serving under the French flag was shaken; two regiments of Westphalian hussars passed over to the enemy. The inhabitants even began to talk of surrender.

But suddenly Napoleon appeared: on the 26th, at ten o'clock in the morning, he gallopped across the bridge of Dresden, and his troops followed at quick march. From that moment all uneasiness ceased, and confidence was restored. The people of Dresden, on beholding the cuirassiers of Latour-Maubourg defile before them, shouted for joy, as though they perused in these warlike visages a presage of the safety of the city.

On his arrival, the Emperor first wished to know what

preparations had been made for the defence, and was glad to find that there was nothing farther required than to give his approbation to all the measures taken by the Marshal St. Cyr. Tranquil on this point, he proceeded to the castle, and by his presence re-assured the royal family, who were about to seek refuge in flight.

His visit scarcely lasted a minute. He was impatient to see for himself the number, the position, and the movements of the enemy, and with this view, marched rapidly towards one of the gates of the town, through a friendly population, who sought, on the calm and serene brow of the great captain, for a pledge of their own safety. At one o'clock, Napoleon was at the extremity of the faubourg of Pilnitz, where he dismounted, and traversed the whole of the exterior circuit of the town, approaching so near to the enemy's advanced posts, that a spent ball reached the young page by his side, who accompanied him.

At three o'clock, the signal for attack was given by three discharges of cannon from the batteries of the Austro-Russian army. At this signal, the enemy who crowned all the heights with which the town is surrounded, descended into the plain, and impetuously attacked our redoubts. He was excited by the presence of the sovereigns, and already in the intoxication of this first shock, believed himself the conqueror, and commenced shouting: "Paris! Paris!" The French soldier, however, soon made him feel in his turn the vigour of his shocks: his Emperor, too, was there to watch over the honour of his eagles. In a moment the struggle became general and terrible. Even the reserves were engaged; shots and shells fell into the town. Napoleon comprehended that there was not a moment to lose in fixing the fate of the battle, and saving the capital of the only ally who remained faithful to him. He precipitated Murat and his cavalry on the right flank of the enemy, and on the left flank the *corps* of the Duke of Treviso. Then, he ordered four divisions of the young guard, com-

manded by their worthy chiefs, Generals Dumoustier, Barrois, Decouz, and Roguet, placed under the orders of the brave Prince of the Moscowa, to defile by the gates of Pirna and Plauen. The appearance of these two columns immediately changed the aspect of the battle. Everything yielded and gave way before the young guard. The assailants, hitherto so bold and presumptuous, were now pursued in all directions, abandoned the plain, which they had invaded with so much ardour, and were mown down by the cuirassiers almost without resistance.

"The Emperor is in Dresden! there can be no further doubt of it!" then exclaimed Prince Schwartzenberg; "the favourable moment for carrying the town has elapsed! we have nothing for it but to rally."

The Emperor soon came to give evidence of his presence, not only by the sage dispositions and skilful manœuvres which he had ordered, but also by his active participation in the heroic efforts and perils of his army. "Napoleon, in the midst of a shower of balls and bullets," says a German writer, an eye-witness, "passed at full-gallop through the Schloss-Gass, to reach the gate of the lake, and the barrier of Lippodiswalde. After remaining there for a moment, he rode to the field of battle; an officer of his *suite* was killed by his side, and several of his aids-de-camp wounded." (Recital of that which took place at Dresden, by a Saxon, an eye witness, Major Odeleben.)

It was not until nine o'clock in the evening that the noise of the cannon ceased to be heard. At eleven o'clock, the Emperor was still busy, passing through the bivouacs, endeavouring to reconnoitre himself the hostile line, and preparing his calculations and plans for the next day. At midnight, he returned to the castle; but before retiring to rest, he called Berthier to his cabinet, and dictated orders to him, which were immediately expedited to all the generals commanding *corps d' armée*, bidding each of them be ready in the morning



to second the genius of the Emperor, in order to ensure the success of the forthcoming day.

However, an Austrian *corps*, which had been roused by a distribution of brandy from the depression in which the army of Prince Schwartzenberg had been plunged by his defeat of the previous day, attempted a surprise, under favour of the night, on the gate of Plauen. But they met with General Dumoustier and Colonel Cambrone. Dumoustier, whose leg was shattered, still wished to fight; Cambrone, who made the assailants repent their audacity, by taking from them an entire battalion and one flag.

This nocturnal attack announced that the Allies, so completely routed on the day of the 26th, did not consider themselves definitively vanquished, and that they might be expected to return to the combat. Napoleon had foreseen this, when he sent in the night such urgent instructions to all his

lieutenants. By six o'clock in the morning, despite the mud and rain, he was on horseback, and issued by the gate of Freyberg, in order to re-examine the places, and study the ground where the struggle was to re-commence. On the heights which he had in front, he observed a level spot, which the Austrian General Klenau, to whom the position had been assigned, had not yet occupied. The Emperor immediately ordered Murat and Victor to bear for this point, and get there before the enemy. The King of Naples and the Duke of Belluna promptly executed this movement. By nine o'clock in the morning they were masters of the position, but a sharp cannonade had now commenced in the centre, the artillery sustaining the chief brunt of the battle. "It was there," says the *Manuscript of* 1813, "that the French soldier submitted to the most harsh law of modern tactics. Champing the curb which restrained his ardour, he remained for hours motionless, a mark for the bullets of which the two lines made a constant exchange."

By eleven o'clock, Murat was already beyond the defiles of Plauen. He was seen, sabre in hand, his mantle embroidered with gold, girded on his shoulder, charging at the head of his cuirassiers and carabineers, precipitating himself on the Austrian infantry. His success, to which Victor and Latour-Maubourg gloriously contributed, was at length complete; the left wing of the Allies was crushed.

Their right wing was not more fortunate; it fled before the young guard, the danger and triumph of which the Emperor shared in person.

On all points, French valour was as brilliant and sustained as in the noblest days of their military history. Two batallions of the old guard, all that was brought into action of this branch, fought but at the bayonet's point, and overthrew everything they met with in their path. Mortier, St. Cyr, and Nansouty distinguished themselves equally with Murat, Victor, and Latour-Maubourg. This admirable assemblage of so much

courage and talent, formed under the auspices of genius, must, necessarily, be crowned by a decisive result. At three o'clock, the battle of Dresden was definitively gained for Napoleon. The allied monarchs, in danger of losing their communication with Bohemia, were obliged to provide for their safety, and beat a retreat, leaving in the power of the conqueror, from twenty-five to thirty thousand prisoners, forty flags, and sixty pieces of cannon. The first cannon-shot fired from the batteries of the Imperial Guard, mortally wounded General Moreau. Heaven would not allow the conqueror of Hohenlinden time to aggravate his crime and perpetuate his shame on the field of battle, and therefore put an end to the scandal which the presence of such a man in the midst of the Russians created!

The Emperor may imagine that the divine protection is restored to him, by seeing the parricide so promptly reached and punished, in his ancient competitor, and defection so vigorously chastised, in his allies of Vienna and Berlin. Unhappily this is but an illusion which will quickly pass away. He has arrived at that point, at which the noblest feats of arms cannot save him from an approaching fall. Separated from the liberal spirit which reared up proudly against him from the midst of the German youth, he found himself without the pale of his primitive vision: the political man had nearly expired in Napoleon. But as his genius remains faithful to him, and French nationality is still embodied in him, he will fall from the throne without being despoiled of his glory; he will fall, constantly increasing for posterity; renewing, until the last hour of his Imperial existence, the same prodigies with which he astonished the world whilst he yet laboured at his elevation, or had attained the apex of his power.

The Czar, the King of Prussia, and the Prince of Schwartzenberg fled then once more before the eagle of France, bearing with them the expiring Moreau. They hastened to gain the defiles of Bohemia, briskly pursued by Napoleon. One of his generals, however, who presumed too much on the valour of

his troops and on his own bravery, essayed, with a handful of intrepid soldiers, to bar the passage of a whole army. General Vandamme, forgetting, according to the remark of the Emperor, "that it was requisite to build a bridge of gold, or oppose a barrier of adamant, to a flying army," and that he was not sufficiently strong to form this adamantine barrier; General Vandamme flung himself into the defiles of Kulm, and attempted to stay the grand army vanquished at Dresden. But, after unheard of efforts, and a desperate resistance, which cost the enemy considerable loss, the French general was overwhelmed by numbers. He disappeared in the *mêlée,* and was believed to be dead. His whole troop was made prisoners, and it was soon learnt that he had himself fallen into the power of the Austro-Russians.

This isolated check, which cost the French army more than ten thousand men, attenuated the effects of the battle of Dresden. Fatal events, moreover, happened at the same time to the army in Silesia. Heavy rains had caused all the rivers to overflow. The water covered the whole country; the bridges were carried away, the various *corps* deprived of communication with each other. In so perilous a position, Marshal Macdonald was obliged to repass the Bober, the Queiss and the Neiss, after having lost, at Lœwenberg, the greater part of the division Puthod, the remainder of which was only saved by swimming.

Napoleon, leaving the grand army of the Allies, shut up, as it were, in the mountains of Bohemia, marched towards Silesia, and fell in with the army of Macdonald on the heights of Hochkirch, on the 4th September. On the same day he made this army resume the offensive, attacked the enemy, drove him from the heights of Wolenberg, pursued him during the whole of the 5th, as far as Gœrlitz, compelled him precipitately to repass the Neiss and the Queiss, and returned, on the 6th, at seven o'clock in the evening, to Dresden, where he learnt that the council of war, of the third *corps d' armée,* had

just condemned General Jomini (a Swiss) to death, for having deserted to the enemy at the moment of the resumption of hostilities.

Marshal Oudinot, however, had not been more fortunate in his march on Berlin, than Macdonald in Silesia. Beaten, on the 24th August, at Gross-Beeren, he had been replaced by Ney, who, after having obtained some advantage, on the 5th September, over General Tauensein, on the following day met with a defeat at Juterbock, where he was attacked by Bernadotte and Bulow.

Thus reverses continued to be more frequent every where where the Emperor was not. Napoleon was among the first to perceive it; therefore making Dresden the centre of his operations, he kept himself, in a manner, constantly in the saddle, on the Elbe, always ready to gallop to that point where the danger was most urgent, always ready to watch over and direct the manœuvres and movements of the numerous bodies which composed his army. He passed in this manner the month of September and the first half of October, marching now against Schwartzenberg, now against Sacken, then on Blucher and Bernadotte; beating the one at Geyersberg, the others at Dessau, and making them all fear to encounter the invincible arm which seemed to enjoy the power of ubiquity. But these triumphs served only to thin his army, already so much enfeebled by the disasters of the preceding campaign, without destroying the endless resources of the combined arms. Reinforcements reached them from all sides; and fresh defections were about to render their aid. The King of Bavaria imitated the Emperor of Austria, violating the faith of treaties, and breaking family connections. The insurrection also progressed in the rear of the French; several bodies of partisans were also organized in Saxony and Westphalia. The Saxon General Thielmann, had abandoned the Gallic flag in order to place himself at the head of three thousand Russian and Prussian runners, and he had surprised, at Hauenburg,

from three to four hundred sick, who were, however, retaken at Freyberg by General Lefebvre Desnouettes. In this general movement of the Germanic population against the French domination, Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, had been driven from his capital and obliged to fall back on the Rhine.

On learning the news of the defection of Bavaria, and the insurrectional dispositions which manifested themselves in central Germany, Napoleon perceived that it would be impossible to maintain himself on the Elbe, and thought of approaching the French frontiers, preserving as much as possible his victorious attitude. But in the face of an innumerable army, which the most complete defeats could not lessen, by reason of its being incessantly kept up by recruits from the whole of Europe, he felt that a considerable levy of men had become necessary for him, and he therefore caused to be demanded of the senate two hundred and eighty thousand conscripts, by the Empress regent, who pronounced on this occasion, the 7th October, a speech which Napoleon had addressed to it from his head-quarters.

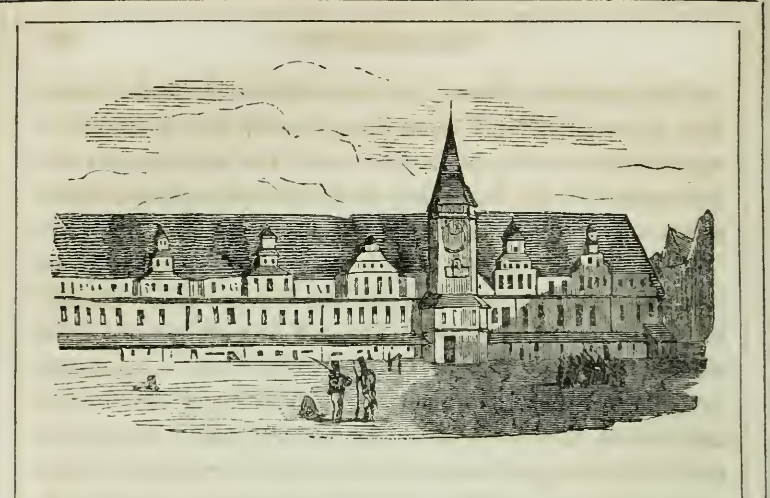
The senate, which had always shewn itself eager to fulfil the wishes of the Emperor, could not do otherwise when the wants of the country became greater, and the position of the French army in a foreign country needed prompt succour; the levy of two hundred and eighty thousand conscripts was therefore voted without opposition.

Napoleon on the Elbe, was still master of the bridges of Dessau, Aken, and Wartenburg, of which Generals Reynier and Bertrand, and Marshal Ney were in possession, and his plan, says the official report, "was to pass this river, to manœuvre on the right bank, from Hamburg to Dresden; to menace Potsdam and Berlin, and to take Magdeburg as the centre of operations, when the news of the defection of the Bavarians made him renounce this design, and decided him upon retiring on Leipsic."

This resolution overwhelmed the censors at head-quarters with joy, who regretted to see Napoleon inclined to attempt a *coup-de-main* on Berlin, and to carry the war between the Elbe and the Oder, when they desired nothing so much themselves as to return with all speed towards the Rhine.

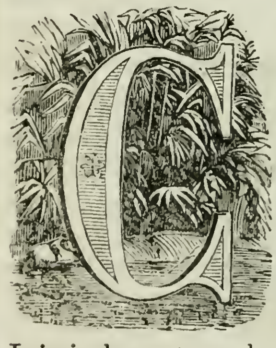
The Emperor reached Leipsic on the 15th October, where the troops of Victor, Augereau and Lauriston had already joined each other; the Allies followed him closely, and, by a combined movement of all their scattered forces succeeded in concentrating themselves on the 16th, around the French army, which thus found itself arrested in its march southwards and westwards by Schwartzenberg and Girulay, whilst Beningsen and Collaredo, Blucher, and Bernadotte, marched on it from the east and north.





CHAPTER XVI.

Battles of Vachau and Leipsic. Defection of the Saxons. Disastrous issue of the campaign. Return of the Emperor to Paris.



CONSIDERING that five hundred thousand men were in presence of each other under the walls or in the environs of Leipsic, a grand battle had become inevitable.

On the 15th, Napoleon, after having reassured the king and queen of Saxony, who had come to rejoin him at Leipsic, began to explore the exterior of the town and to visit the divers bodies of troops established in the surrounding places. The remainder of the day, and part of the night were consecrated to the preparations for battle, which appeared certain to take place on the morrow.

On the 16th, at nine o'clock in the morning, the signal for battle was in effect given, to the south of Leipsic by the Prince of Schwartzenberg; but this attack soon became

general, and was sustained by two hundred pieces of cannon. At first the Allies had the advantage; they menaced the villages of Marklecberg and Dolitz, and made Napoleon's right give ground, when the infantry of Poniatowski and Augereau, and the cavalry of General Milhaud came to arrest on this side the progress of the enemy.

In the centre, Victor and Lauriston maintained Vachau and Lieberwalkwitz, despite the efforts of the Prince of Wirtemberg and Generals Gorzakoff and Klenau.

But it was not sufficient for the Emperor to resist with success and to hold his positions; he had, more than ever, need of a signal triumph, of a decisive victory; and when his enemies failed in their first attack, it was for him to attack them briskly in his turn, without giving them time to stay the disorder and discouragement in their columns, and to replace by fresh troops the fatigued and beaten soldiers; and this Napoleon did.

Ordering Macdonald and Sebastiani to attack Klenau on the left, and sending Mortier to support Lauriston with two divisions of the young guard, he despatched Oudinot to the right to support Victor, whilst Curial marched upon Dolitz in order to reinforce Poniatowski. A hundred and fifty pieces of the artillery of the guard, directed by General Drout protected these divers movements.

Every one, generals and soldiers, fulfilled the wishes of the great captain. Victor and Oudinot, attacking the Prince of Wirtemberg sword in hand, drove him before them as far as Gossa. Mortier and Lauriston did no less with Klenau's *corps*. Macdonald and Sebastiani on their side obtained complete success, and Poniatowski rendered all the combined attempts of the Prussians, Russians and Austrians to make him abandon his position on the banks of the Pleiss, fruitless.

The Emperor Alexander, seeing the battle of Vachau on the point of being lost, decided upon lending not only his reserves, but even his escort, at the risk of compromising his

own safety; and hastening to the point most menaced, precipitated the Cossacks of the guard on the French cavalry. This extreme resolution, as generous as imprudent, although it might have compromised the person of the Czar, nevertheless preserved the army of the Allies from a total defeat. The Cossacks retook twenty-four of the twenty-six pieces of cannon which had just been wrested from the Russians; the Austrian reserves subsequently appeared. "The Allies were so numerous," says the *Memorial of St. Helena*, "that when their troops were fatigued, they were regularly relieved as on parade." With such a numerical superiority, they could scarcely be definitively beaten; therefore, notwihtstanding the prodigies of valour performed by the French army, the victory remained almost undecided.

But there had not been fighting at Vachau alone; the cannon had been also heard on the Partha, and on the side of Lindenau. On the Partha, Blucher, who had the advantage over him in numbers had ended by making Marmont's *corps* give way. At Lindenau, Giulay had been less fortunate against General Bertrand, who had defended and secured the road to France.

The Allies lost twenty thousand men at Vachau. The Austrian General Merfeld, having fallen from his horse in the midst of the French bayonets, gave up his sword to Captain Pleineselve, of the division Curial. On the side of the French, it was reckoned that two thousand five hundred men were killed and wounded. General Latour-Maubourg was struck by a bullet. Napoleon strongly eulogized the conduct of his lieutenants, Victor, Marmont, Ney, Oudinot, Macdonald Augereau, etc.; he specially signalized the bravery of Lauriston and the heroic intrepidity of Poniatowski whom he raised to the dignity of Marshal.

For some time past, the battle which ought to have been decisive for the Emperor Napoleon had had no result. Lûtzen, Bautzen, and Dresden had only served to increase the

number and ardour of his enemies: what then could he expect from a day the success of which had not been marked by the rout, nor even by the retreat of the combined forces? On returning to his tent, he prepared for the combat of the morrow.

In the evening, his prisoner, General Merfeld, whom he had known at Leoben, and to whom he immediately ordered his sword to be restored, was brought to him. Afterwards, allowing him to depart on parole, he charged him with pacific proposals for the Emperor of Austria, saying to him at the moment of despatching him :—

"They are deceived in respect to me; I demand nothing better than to repose myself in the shade of peace, and ensure the happiness of France, as I have ensured her glory.

"I must finish by making sacrifices, I know it; and am ready to make them. Adieu, general; when you speak for me of an armistice to the two Emperors, I doubt not that the voice they hear will be eloquent of the past."

General Merfeld returned to his countrymen, who were equally surprised and pleased to see him back; but the words of peace of which he was the bearer met with but a cool reception. The personal sentiments of the monarchs, the memory of the past invoked by Napoleon, were rendered entirely subordinate to the exigences of a common and inflexible policy. The coalition could not break its ranks, moderate its pretensions and delay its blows, now that events seemed to declare themselves more and more in its favour.

The battle therefore would have re-commenced on the 17th, if the heavy rains and bad roads which had retarded the arrival of General Beningsen, had not induced the Allies to put off their attack till the morrow. If Napoleon had imagined that they would have deliberated in the hostile camp, on the proposals entrusted to M. de Merfeld, he would have been quickly undeceived. On the 18th, at day-break, the Allies were in motion. But the Emperor had foreseen all, and had passed

the night in making his dispositions, running from his bivouac to his generals' tents, awakening Ney at Reidnitz, visiting Bertrand at Lindenau, and every where giving his orders for the morrow.

At ten o'clock the cannonade had commenced throughout the line. The enemy chiefly directed their efforts against the villages of Connewitz and Probstheide, to the carrying of which they attached the success of the battle. Four attempts were made upon Probstheide, and four times were they defeated. At all points the French army obstinately defended and succeeded in maintaining its positions. The army of Silesia vainly endeavoured to take possession of the faubourg of Halle, and to establish itself on the left bank of the Partha. If it succeeded in crossing this river on several occasions, it was immediately attacked and overthrown by the Prince of the Moscowa, who always managed to drive it back to the other bank.

At three o'clock, the chances of the battle were in favour of the French army. But one of those events which military science can neither foresee nor guard against, and which for a year past had so often disarranged the calculations of Napoleon, suddenly changed the face of affairs. The Saxon army and the Wirtemberg cavalry passed over to the enemy; the general-in-chief, Zeschau, who remained faithful to the French flag, could only retain five hundred men under his command. The artillery even turned its forty pieces of cannon against the division of General Durutte.

This unheard of defection, effected on the field of battle, left a gap in the French lines, and gave to the Allies the important position which the Saxon army had been charged to defend. In a few moments, the enemy (it was Bernadotte) had passed the Partha and occupied Reidnitz. He was not more than half a league from Leipsic, when Napoleon himself arrived with a division of the guard. The presence of the Emperor reanimated the ardour of his troops. Reidnitz was

soon retaken, and when night arrived, the French were, as on the preceding evening, masters of the field of battle, rather conquerors than conquered, but more and more reduced, each day to re-commence sanguinary struggles, which had no result but to weaken their ranks, and the most fortunate issue of which could only ensure them a road obstinately disputed, and a glorious retreat across the Germanic soil.

Napoleon consequently found himself after the heroic efforts of his army, on the fields of Leipsic, as after the noble feats of arms on the day of Vachau, under the necessity of preparing for a fresh battle on the morrow. But, at seven o'clock in the evening, Generals Sorbier and Dulauloy came to inform him that the munitions of war were exhausted, and that they had scarcely sufficient to keep up a two hours' firing. During five days, the army had made more than two hundred and twenty thousand discharges of cannon, and in order to obtain fresh supplies, their only choice lay between Magdeburg and Erfurt.

In a position like this, there was no time for consideration. Napoleon decided for Erfurt, and immediately gave orders to retreat by the defiles of Lindenau, the free passage of which General Bertrand had so valiantly defended and maintained against the Austrian *corps* of Giulay.

The Emperor quitted his bivouac at eight o'clock in the evening, and re-entered Leipsic, where he lodged at an inn (the hotel of the Arms of Prussia). The Duke of Bassano gave him an account of the conversation which he had just held with the King of Saxony. This venerable prince had evinced himself inconsolable at the behaviour of his army, and would not part from the Emperor, whose fortune he had decided upon following. "Excellent prince," said Napoleon, "he is always the same! I find him such as he was in 1807, when he inscribed over the triumphal arches: '*A Napoléon, Fréderic Auguste reconnaisant.*'"

The Emperor passed the night in dictating orders to the

Dukes of Bassano and Vicenza. On the 19th, at day-break, the greater part of the army had effected its retreating movement. Victor and Augereau defiled first, Marmont was charged to defend as long as he could the faubourg of Halle, Regnier that of Rosenthal, and Ney those in the east. Lauriston, Macdonald, and Poniatowski, placed in the rear, were to maintain themselves in the southern quarters, and preserve the approaches to the Elster until the *corps* of Ney and Marmont had crossed the river. This order was given to Poniatowski by the Emperor himself. "Prince," said Napoleon to him, "you will defend the southern faubourg."—"Sire," he replied, "I have but few people."—"Ah! well! you will defend yourself with what you have."—"Ah! sire, we will maintain it! we are always ready to perish for your majesty." The illustrious and unfortunate Pole kept his word! he was never again to behold the Emperor.

It had been proposed to Napoleon to destroy Leipsic and to burn its vast suburbs, in order to prevent the enemy from establishing himself there, which would have allowed more time for the French army to effect its retreat and to issue from the defiles of Lindenau.

"However odious might have been the treachery of the Saxon army," says the official report, "the Emperor could not resolve upon destroying one of the finest cities of Germany; he prefers exposing himself to the loss of some hundreds of carriages rather than adopt this barbarous course."

The enemy, however, having perceived the retrograde movement of the French, all his columns rushed at once upon Leipsic, impatient to enter upon and there signalize by the destruction of Napoleon's rear-guard, the great event which delivered Germany to the coalition.

But they met in the suburbs with an obstinate and unexpected resistance. Macdonald and Poniatowski, charged with the safety of the army, heroically fulfilled the noble and perilous mission which had been confided to them. Whilst

they arrested the enemy at the gates of the city, the Emperor was still with the King of Saxony. He expressed to the venerable monarch the grief which he felt at leaving him in the midst of his enemies; and in order to put off the moment of their separation, he prolonged the conversation and retarded his adieus, when, at the sound of a brisk firing which was heard from the side Halle faubourg, the king arose, and pressed the Emperor to quit Leipsic with all speed. "You have done sufficient," said he to him, "and it is now urging your generosity too far to risk your person by remaining a few moments longer to console us." Napoleon at first resisted; but the noise of the firing approaching, the queen and the princess Augusta joined their entreaties to those of the king, and the Emperor then yielded. "I would not have quitted you," said he, "until the enemy had entered the town, and I owe you this proof of devotion. But seeing that my presence only redoubles your alarms, I insist upon it no longer. Receive my adieus. Whatever may happen, France will acquit the debt of friendship which I have contracted towards you." The king conducted the Emperor to the staircase, and there they embraced for the last time.

It was but a false alarm, however, which had terrified the august allies of Napoleon. Marmont, Ney, Regnier, Macdonald, Lauriston, and Poniatowski, were still masters of the positions confided to their care. All the attacks of Blucher and the other hostile generals, despite the alarm which they had produced in the town, had been vigorously repulsed. The Emperor could therefore depart from Leipsic without any obstacle, and quietly proceed to Lindenau.

But fresh incidents, which are beyond the foresight of genius, were about to produce fresh disasters.

Whilst the rear guard defended the suburbs inch by inch, and slowly effected its retreat beneath the walls of Leipsic, the Saxons remaining in the town fired from the ramparts on the French troops. All speed was then made for the great

bridge over the Elster, which led to the defile of Lindenau. The bridge had been undermined, and Colonel Montfort had been commissioned to fire the train, as soon as the last columns of the army should have passed over to the other bank, in order to retard the march of the enemy. By a most fatal mistake, the sapper to whom the match had been entrusted, thought that the French had entirely defiled, and that the Allies had come, when he beheld them firing from the boulevards and ramparts on the rear-guard. He set fire to the train, and a powerful explosion aroused the Emperor from a slumber, which, aided by fatigue, had surprised him at the mill of



Lindenau. The great bridge over the Elster had been blown up, and four *corps d'armée*, having with them more than two

hundred pieces of cannon, were still on the boulevards or in the suburbs. What was to become of the brave men, commanded by Macdonald, Reynier, Lauriston, and Poniatowski? Overwhelmed by numbers, it was impossible for them to resist, and retreat had been cut off by a French hand; Macdonald threw himself into the Elster and escaped by swimming. Poniatowski sprung his horse into the river, sunk in a hole, and rose no more. Reynier and Lauriston also disappeared, and were believed to have been either killed or drowned. Twelve thousand men perished or fell into the enemy's hands by this fatal event.

The Allies becoming masters of Leipsic, the King of Saxony was conducted to Berlin, there to expiate, in disgrace with the great powers of Europe, his inviolable fidelity to France; and Bernadotte, sharing in Leipsic the triumph and intoxication of the enemies of the French name, seated himself familiarly at the table of the superb potentates who pursued, against Napoleon, the restoration of the divine right!

The legitimate monarchs still required to silence their repugnances, and conceal their actual thoughts. They dissimulated with the prince of plebeian origin, as with German liberalism, whose succour they had also accepted. Ancient Europe will know how to conduct herself towards her imprudent auxiliaries, and deny them her most solemn promises when they shall have beaten the common enemy.

Napoleon must have recognized, in the blow which had just reached him, the inexorable and invisible power which destroyed all his calculations, deceived all his foresight, and appeared to lead him towards the fatal abyss, across a series of victories which were succeeded and immediately annulled by unheard of incidents and overwhelming catastrophes.

After paying a just tribute of regret to the victims of this great disaster, the Emperor cited before a council of war, Colonel Montfort and the sapper who had prematurely blown up the bridge over the Elster; he then continued his retreat

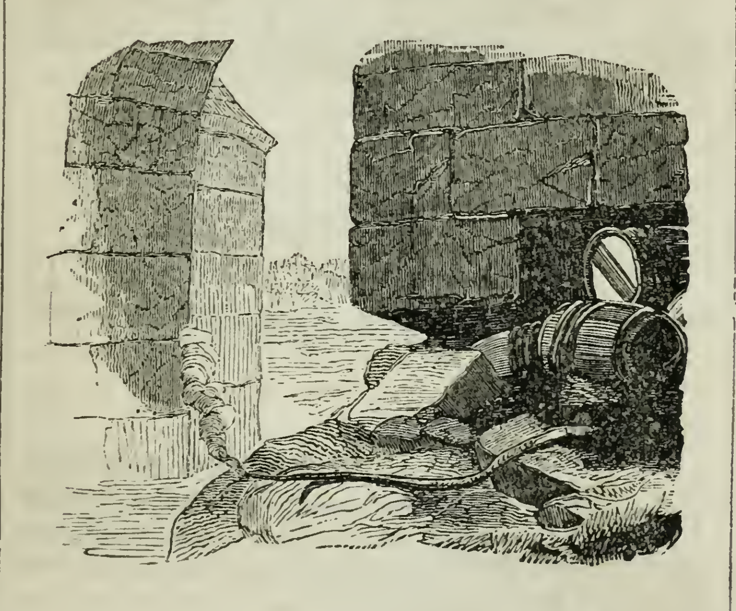
towards Erfurt, where the head-quarters were established on the 23rd, and where "the victorious French army arrived," said the bulletin addressed to the Empress, "like an army that had been defeated."

Napoleon left Erfurt, on the 25th, and pursued his march towards the Rhine. The Austro-Bavarians hastened to meet him, and endeavoured to bar his passage to Hanau. But the misfortunes of Leipsic had not so far enfeebled the French army as to disable it from making its faithless allies repent of their audacity in daring to attempt to hinder its retreat. The Emperor marched through the midst of sixty thousand Austrians and Bavarians, commanded by Wrede, and protected by eighty pieces of cannon. In vain did the French artillery seem for a moment compromised by the repeated charges of a numerous cavalry. Just as the enemy had surrounded it on all sides, and flattered himself with seizing it, the cannoniers armed themselves with the carabine and obstinately defended their pieces. The brave Drouot set them the example, sword in hand, and his heroic attitude restrained the enemy sufficiently long for Nansouty to arrive with the cavalry of the guard, and disengage the intrepid artillery-men.

The Bavarians lost ten thousand men at the battle of Hanau. Six of their generals were killed or wounded, and both cannons and flags were left in the power of the conquerors. Napoleon specially distinguished two squadrons of guards of honour as having shared the perils and glory of the cuirassiers, the horse grenadiers, and the dragoons, in this brilliant affair.

On the 1st November the Emperor arrived at Frankfort. He wrote thence to Maria Louisa to announce to her the sending of twenty flags taken at Vachau, Leipsic, and Hanau; trophies which were dearly paid for. On the following day, Napoleon entered Mayence at five o'clock in the morning, where he busied himself, for some days, in the reorganization

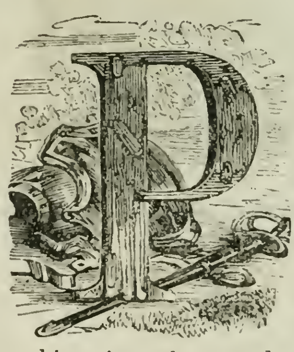
of his army, which was about to establish itself on the Rhine, and left in the night of the 8th, to return to France. On the 9th, at five o'clock in the evening, he was at St. Cloud.





CHAPTER XVII.

The Senate compliments the Emperor. Levy of three hundred thousand men. Re-union and dissolution of the legislative body,



PARIS which had been for so long a time accustomed to songs of victory and triumphal entries, now beheld Napoleon, for the second time in a space of twelve months, return to his capital, betrayed by his allies and by fortune, pursued by the armies of all Europe, and having nothing but the wreck of his own to oppose them, the remainder having gloriously fallen on the field of honour beneath the blows of felony and fatality.

Is he about to be called to account for the caprices of fate and for the treason to which he has been subjected? France,



WELLINGTON.

forgetting that he had not provoked the war, and that for her alone he had sustained it with so much constancy and vigour, was she preparing to say to him, as formerly said Rome's master to Varus: "Restore me my legions?"

No, the great nation will not tarnish its glory by such injustice and ingratitude towards the great man. It will neither be an obstinate courtier, like the senate, nor an intemperate grumbler, like the legislative body; it will deplore the political faults committed in prosperity, but will carefully abstain from making them a subject of recrimination or reproach in adversity. Its infallible instinct will see through the royal mask with which the genius of the revolution had decked himself, and will persist in supporting with its vows and its blood the hero who, beneath the consular toga, and decked with the laurels of Egypt and Italy, celebrated in 1800, on the Champ de Mars, the anniversary of the 14th July, and enthusiastically saluted the French people as HIS SOVEREIGN. If the great body of the state express not its thoughts, it will proceed to search for an illustrious patriot in solitude, in order to make him its organ; and the courageous tribune who alone resisted the re-establishment of the monarchy, now comes to accuse, by offering his arm to the Emperor, those legislators so long dumb, who will have waited before manifesting their opposition, to be encouraged by the noise of foreign cannon and supported, by the imminence of the dangers of the Empire. Carnot, who exiled himself from public affairs, and whose voice remained pure from all flattery when Napoleon beheld at his feet the official envoys of France, and the proudest kings of Europe, Carnot will write to the Emperor in order to place himself at his disposal, because, despite certain acts little compatible with the tendencies of the age, he will always recognize in him the representative of French nationality; and the Emperor will reply to him, charging him with the defence of Antwerp.

The Senate hastened to repeat to the Emperor its eternal

flatteries, to whom Napoleon replied: "A year since, and all Europe marched with us; to-day, all Europe marches against us; it is because the opinion of the world is governed, either by France or England. We should, therefore, have every thing to fear without the energy and power of the nation.

"Posterity will say that if great and critical circumstances have arisen, they were not above France and myself."

The next day, the 15th November, a levy of three hundred thousand conscripts was demanded by the government and voted by the senate.

The legislative body was convoked on the 25th October by a decree dated from Gotta. On his arrival in Paris, the Emperor was advised that hostile influences sought to possess themselves of the direction of this assembly. Immediately making use of the dictatorial power which he knew so well how to arrogate to himself when circumstances required it, he decreed that the president of the legislative body should be named by himself, and his choice fell upon the Duke of Massa, then chief judge, who was replaced in his administration of justice by Molé, the counsellor of state.

Defence of territory was the first thing which occupied Napoleon. By a decree of the 16th December, he ordered the formation of thirty cohorts of the national guard, whom he destined for the defence of the strong places.

On the 19th of the same month, the opening of the session of the legislative body commenced.

The Emperor communicated to the deputies and the senate the diplomatic acts which contained the secret of the negociations, during the past campaign, and which gave the clue to the actual dispositions of the great powers. These two bodies named each a committee to proceed with the examination of these documents. M. de Fontanes was the chairman of the senatorial committee; M. Lainé, deputy from La Gironde, was the spokesman chosen by the legislative committee.

M. de Fontanes upheld his character as an inflexible

partisan of monarchy, and a zealous servant of the empire. He was surprised at the declaration of the allied sovereigns, who, in their more recent manifestos, affected to say that they aimed at the Emperor alone, and not at the French nation. "This declaration," says the orator of the senate, "is of a character unprecedented in the diplomacy of the monarchs: they no longer develope their grievances to kings like themselves, and send them their manifestos, it is the people whom they address. May not this example be fatal? Must it especially be given at this epoch, when the mind, labouring under all the ills of pride, has so much difficulty in bending beneath the authority which protects it by repressing its audacity? And against whom is this attack directed? Against a great man who merits the gratitude of all rulers; for in re-establishing the throne of France, he has closed the mouth of the volcano which threatened them all."

This language, exhibiting the want of foresight or the ingratitude of kings, placed in relief, precisely that which, under the present circumstances, the Emperor most needed to efface from the memory of the people. It was by the overwhelming power of the disciplined democracy, and with the irresistible force of the revolutionary movement of which he had made himself the supreme regulator, that Napoleon had so often triumphed over the enemies of France, and had been so long reputed invincible. By striving to exhibit him as nothing more than the restorer of ancient institutions, and liberator of ancient Europe, his primitive character, his popular nature, the talisman which had aided him in effecting all the miracles of his life, was being taken from him. He was no longer the genius of the age, attaching victory to the flag of the French Revolution. The plebeian Hercules, who, during so many years, curbed beneath his formidable hand the genius of the past, had ended by submitting to its influence, and becoming the protector of royalty and aristocracy; his flatterers now reminded him of this deviation, and con-

gratulated him thereon. But in thus holding him up for the gratitude of monarchical Europe, was not the rising of liberal Europe justified, which was then displaying his banners from one end of Germany to the other, promising Constitutions to Berlin, whilst it made them at Cadiz? Was it not also favourable, in the interior, to the rousing of party spirit, this attack on the democratic tendencies of the epoch, exhibiting Napoleon as the enemy of these tendencies? This was the more to be feared, as the circumstances to which M. de Fontanes called attention were not wanting in truth. It was indeed, incontestible, and we have had occasion to notice on more than one occasion, that Napoleon, according to his own avowal, had sought to identify himself with the ancient order of things.

Without this fatal pretension, the indestructible power attached to the new order, had not abandoned him; fortune had been more constant, treason less active, and he had not astonished the world, in the same campaign, by the number of his triumphs, and the rapidity of his decay.

But M. de Fontanes shewed only one side of the political life of Napoleon, and this was the side most capable of augmenting the impatience of the one and serving the malevolence of the others. Nevertheless, the Emperor did not complain of the manner in which his acts and positions, with respect to nations and kings, were exhibited and characterized. The chief of the fourth dynasty met with his own ideas in the speech of the old royalist whom the senate had taken for its organ. He thanked the deputation from this body for the sentiments which it had expressed, and he afterwards painted in terms by no means re-assuring, the situation of France.

"You have seen," he said, "by that which I have just communicated to you, what I have done for peace. The sacrifices proposed to me by the enemy, which I had accepted, I would make without regret; my life has but one object, the happiness of the French.

"However, Berne, Alsace, France, Comté, and Brabant, are sore pressed. The cries of this part of my family lacerate my soul! I call upon the French to succour Frenchmen!"

It was but too true that France was sore pressed. The armies of Spain, forced to evacuate the Peninsula, repassed the Pyrenees, pursued by the Anglo-Spaniards, who already encamped on the territory of France. In the north, the Rhine was passed at several points, and the viceroy could scarcely maintain himself beyond the Alps, whilst the strong places on the Elbe and Oder yielded, and even Dantzic capitulated. The moment appeared favourable for the anti-revolutionary party, which had never despaired, and whose principles, obstinately defended by English toryism, had been the cause more or less avowed of all the coalition against France. The Bourbons, who seemed to have been forgotten, and who were complete strangers to the new generation, re-appeared on the frontiers of Spain, and inundated the southern departments with their proclamations. Imitating their powerful allies on the Rhine, who had accepted the concurrence of the *Tugendbund*, they sought also to embody with themselves the now reviving liberalism, and feared not to present themselves as the restorers of the public liberties, whilst others, by a remarkable contrast, held up Napoleon as the restorer of the altar and the throne. Thus the most embittered enemies of the revolution found themselves reduced to render him homage, and to proclaim that it was no longer with the Emperor, since the Emperor had ceased to be invincible.

It was especially in the west and south, that the partisans of the Bourbons bestirred themselves. In some places, assemblies of refractory conscripts, encouraged by the conspirators, began to assume a menacing attitude. At Paris, a chief committee, at which many who subsequently became noted among the constitutionals, were seated, served as a connecting link and guide to the machinators both within and without.

Well! the committee of the legislative body chose this moment to insinuate that despotism had replaced the sway of the laws, and that the prolongation of the war could only be attributed to the Emperor; his ideas of agrandizement and dominion being the sole obstacles to the general pacification! Emboldened by the public dangers and misfortunes, they had the audacity to place conditions to the concurrence and sacrifices which Napoleon demanded of the deputies of the nation, in order to preserve the country from foreign invasion. The Emperor became indignant at so tardy and ill-timed an opposition. The printing and distribution of the report of M. Lainé had been voted for by four-fifths of the assembly: this vote was annulled by the will of the master. On the 30th December, the printing being stopped and the proofs seized, Napoleon began to declare his anger in the council of state.

"Gentlemen," said he, "you know the position of things and the dangers of the country; without being compelled to it, I thought it my duty to communicate the facts to the legislative body . . . but it has used this confidence on my part as a weapon against me, that is to say against the country. The legislative body, instead of lending its aid to save France, concurs in hastening her ruin: it betrays its duties, I fulfil mine, I dissolve it."

Despite this reproof which the Emperor had just dealt against them, the members of the legislative body presented themselves at his audience, on the 1st January, at the Tuileries, in order to offer their congratulations on the occasion of the solemnities and festivities of the new-year's day. As soon as they appeared before him, he felt all the irritation, with which he had been seized on the first news of their resolution, again rise, and he angrily apostrophised them in these terms:

"I have suppressed the printing of your address; it was inflammatory.

"Eleven twelfths of the legislative body are composed of good citizens, I acknowledge and regard them; but the other

twelfth contains none but factions, and your committee is of the number. (This Committee consisted of M. M. Lainé, Raynouard, Maine de Biran, and Flaugergue.) M. Lainé is a traitor, in correspondence with the Prince Regent, through the intermediation of Desèze; I know it, I have proof of it; the others are among the factions.

"In your address you seek to separate the sovereign from the nation. I alone am the representative of the people. And which of you could charge himself with a like burden? The throne is but of wood decked with velvet. If I believed you, I should yield the enemy more than he demands: in three months you shall have peace, or I will perish.

"It is against me that our enemies are more embittered than against France: but on that ground alone am I to be suffered to dismember the state?

"Do I not sacrifice my pride and my dignity to obtain peace? Yes, I am proud because I am courageous; I am proud because I have done great things for France. The address was unworthy of me and of the legislative body; one day I will have it printed, but it shall be in order to shame the legislative body. You wished to bespatter me with mud, but I am one of those men who may be killed yet not dishonoured.

"Return to your homes . . . . Even supposing me to have been in the wrong, there was no occasion to reproach me publicly; dirty linen should be washed at home. For the rest, France has more need of me, than I have need of France."





CHAPTER XVIII.

Commencement of the Campaign of 1814.



LET us for a moment pause: 'France has more need of me, than I have need of her!'

Sublime pride of genius which feels its power, and knows the high and vast extent of its arms and its support.

But genius may have its illusions.

Doubtless Napoleon, as a man and as an historical personage, has no longer need of France to enjoy his glory and transmit it to posterity: but, as Emperor, as head of a great nation, what can he do without France? How can he defend his crown and his dynasty without her? How can he escape from the political death with which all Europe threatens him?

On the other hand, if it be true that France has more than ever need of the sword of Napoleon to resist the armies of the allied sovereigns, and to deliver her territory, already sullied by the enemy, was it not certain also that the success of the invasion might produce the last hour of the empire and the irrevocable decay of the great man, and still be but a passing shock, a mere incident in the existence of a great nation. Let us not forget that to France especially may be applied that which has already several times been repeated; that, in the midst of the vicissitudes and commotions which sweep away princes, dynasties and institutions, nations only do not perish.

Napoleon appeared to forget this, when he suffered his indignation to find vent in the haughty words which he cast in the face of the deputies of France. Although the legislative body thinking itself secure, had yielded to fatal influences, and imprudent inspirations, and was moreover unpopular, there was still some danger in treating it with such disdain. and almost with anger. Despite its constitutional nullity and long docility, it was still protected by its title. The people were accustomed to see in it some remainder of democracy, the shade of the elective system; there was sufficient about it to render any too violent, or too direct attack of which it bacame the object, perilous. More than once, potentates, believing themselves immoveable on their thrones, have evinced that the most powerful individual will, does not defy in vain the body which represents, however imperfectly, the will of a country; more than once, the sceptre has been broken against a similitude of national representation.

The legislative body had no doubt done much harm by its malevolent insinuations against Napoleon, at a moment when the head of the empire had need of all the confidence of the nation, in order to dispute with strangers the very soil of the country. But the Emperor, perhaps, aggravated the evil, by exhibiting the inopportune opposition of the deputies, and dismissing them charged with his solemn reproval. This rup-

ture between the monarch and one of the great bodies of the state, was skilfully enlarged upon by the factions of the interior, and by the agents of European diplomacy. The enemies esteemed themselves fortunate, when they strove to separate Napoleon from France, in order to render him more vulnerable, to hear Napoleon distinguish himself from the nation, with which he had always identified himself, and say that she had more need of him than he had need of her. The people of France, nevertheless, would not desert him on the score of this haughty pretension, and her children rushed in the steps of heroes, in Alsace, in Lorraine and Champagne, in order to aid him in defending the territory and the honour of the country.

Before quitting Paris, Napoleon conferred the title of Regent on Maria Louisa, who took the oath, on the 24th, from the hands of the Emperor, and in a council composed of the princes and great dignitaries of the Empire, of cabinet and state ministers.

On the same day, Napoleon convoked at the Tuileries, the officers of the Parisian national guard, of which he had declared himself the commander-in-chief. "I confidently depart," he said to them; "I go to fight the enemy, and leave with you that which I prize most in the world, the Empress and my son!" M. M. de Brancas, de Brévannes, etc., figured among these officers, who all swore to guard the deposit confided to their devotion.

It was on the same day, also, that Napoleon received the letter of which we have already spoken, and in which Carnot offered him his services. What a contrast then presented itself to the mind of the Emperor! Carnot, who had been the last organ of the republic, and who had remained foreign to the splendours of the new monarchy, Carnot came to him, in his adversity, whose elevation he had opposed, whilst Murat, one of the first princes of the Empire, the brother-in-law, the friend, the old comrade of the Emperor, loaded by

him with dignities and honours, and endowed with a crown, chose the moment in which fortune betrayed his benefactor, to give to the world the scandal of a fresh defection, and to carry to the Austrians and Russians the succour of that completely French bravery, which had been so often fatal to them. Napoleon learnt that the King of Naples had imitated the prince royal of Sweden, and that, by a treaty dated the 11th January, his brother and father-in-law had concluded, under the auspices of England, a strict alliance to make war against him; so that prince Eugene, who with difficulty maintained himself before the Austrian armies, was about to have the Neapolitan army in his rear, commanded by that brilliant general whose courage he had admired, whose glory he had shared for so long a time, and who had been one of the most illustrious chiefs of the French army.*

It required all Napoleon's strength of mind, not to be shaken in his constancy by so many deplorable incidents, so many cowardices, so many infamies. But he had received from nature a strong and unflinching character, as he himself said on a more recent occasion, and became indignant at the universal abandonment of which each day exhibited a fresh symptom, without allowing himself to be cast down or discouraged.

Surmounting therefore his disgust, and braving the storm which was gathering in all parts of France, he marched to encounter the allies who had violated the Swiss neutrality in order to invade the eastern provinces. He left Paris on the 25th January, at three o'clock in the morning, after having burnt his most secret papers, and embraced his wife and son—for the last time!! On the 26th, he established his head-quarters at Vitry, and arrived, on the 27th, at St. Dizier,

* On this occasion, the Viceroy published a manifesto which terminated thus; "Although connected with Napoleon by ties of blood, and indebted to him for all, he declares himself against him; and at what period? At the moment when Napoleon is less fortunate!

whence he drove the enemy, who had committed all sorts of excesses during the last two days. The presence of the Emperor overjoyed the inhabitants. An old soldier, Colonel Bouland, came to throw himself at his feet, and to express the gratitude of the population, who were pressing around their liberator. Two days after, Napoleon took from Blucher the town and castle of Brienne, occasioning him a loss of four thousand men. A general officer of the name of Hardenberg,

the nephew of the chancellor of Prussia, was taken in the castle. Blucher, who did not think that the Emperor was with the army, and especially so near, narrowly escaped the same fate, at the moment when he was leaving the castle on foot, at the head of his staff. The Prussians set fire to the town in order to cover their retreat.

On the 1st February, Blucher and Schwartzenberg having joined, marched upon La Rothière and Dienville, where the rear-guard of the French army was posted. Proud of their numerical superiority, they reckoned upon an easy triumph. Generals Duhesme and Gerard deceived them; Duhesme maintained La Rothière, and Gerard, Dienville. Marshal Victor, posted at the hamlet of La Giberie, equally maintained himself throughout the day; but, in the night, a battery of the guard, which had lost its way, fell into an ambuscade, and remained in the power of the enemy. The cannoneers indeed saved themselves, with their baggage, by forming a squadron and fighting vigorously as soon as they perceived that there was no time to use their pieces.

The battle of Brienne, and the defence of La Rothière, Dienville and La Giberie, had gloriously opened the campaign. But Blucher and Schwartzenberg had such considerable forces at their disposal, that Napoleon might fear being surrounded, or cut off from his capital, if he persisted in retaining his position in the environs of Brienne. The hostile columns were directing themselves towards Sens by Bar sur Aube and Auxerre. The Emperor needed to secure Paris from a surprise. He retired, therefore, upon Troyes, which he entered on the 3rd February, and afterwards on Nogent, where his head-quarters were held on the 7th. His object thus was to separate, by rapid and skilful manœuvres, the two great Prussian and Austrian armies which he could not advantageously attack as long as their union lasted, and which he calculated upon beating one after the other, if he succeeded in isolating them.

The execution of this plan commenced with a striking success, on the 10th February, at Champaubert; but his blows fell this time on the Russians. The General-in-chief, Ousouwieff, at the head of twelve regiments, was completely routed. He was taken with six thousand of his men, and the remainder were drowned in a swamp, or killed on the field of battle. Forty pieces of cannon, all the ammunition and baggage were left in the power of the victor.

Next day, it was Blucher's turn to be beaten. Napoleon came up with him at Montmirail, and, after two hours fighting, caused him such immense loss, that his *corp d'armée* appeared entirely destroyed. On the following day, there was a fresh success. A hostile column, endeavouring to protect Blucher's retreat, was taken at Chateau Thierry, where the French troops entered pell-mell with the Russians and Prussians. Five generals of these two nations were among the prisoners. The Emperor slept at the castle of Nesle. The remainder of the enemy precipitated their retreat, which resembled a flight; and as the soldiers of Blucher and Sacken, in marching on Paris, had committed many excesses and cruelties, they were exposed, in their rout, to the retaliations of the peasants, who attacked them in the woods, and took a great number prisoners, whom they were proud of conducting to the posts of the French army.

But these allied armies, annihilated each day, re-appeared incessantly, always ready for battle. It cannot be denied that all Europe was opposed to the Emperor, and her beaten and dispersed soldiers were immediately replaced by fresh troops. Blucher, whose *corps* had been destroyed, on the 12th at Chateau Thierry, was able, on the 14th, to re-enter the lists at Vauchamp. This village, attacked by the Duke of Ragusa, was taken and retaken several times. Whilst the fight raged with great slaughter, General Grouchy fell on the rear of the enemy, and mowed down his squares. The Emperor seized this moment to make his four squadrons charge,

which broke through and took a square of two thousand men. All the cavalry of the guard followed at full trot; the enemy already vanquished, hastened his retreat; but was pursued until nightfall, sword in hand; nor did he even find shelter in the darkness; for the conquerors continued to overthrow and pursue him in spite of the obscurity; forcing his squares, strewing the earth with his slain, making numerous prisoners, and taking possession of his artillery. His rear-guard, formed by the Russian division of General Ouroussoff, attacked with fixed bayonets by the first regiment of marine, could not sustain the shock, and dispersed, leaving in the hands of the French a thousand prisoners, among whom was the commander-in-chief.

The day of Vauchamp cost the Allies ten thousand prisoners, ten flags, ten pieces of cannon, and many killed and wounded.

In order to march against the troops operating on the Marne and which threatened Paris from the side of Rheims and Soissons, the Emperor had been compelled to leave to his lieutenants the care of holding Schwartzenberg in check on the Aube and Seine. But the Austrian generalissimo being opposed to forces so far inferior to his own, had marched forward, after having been detained for two days beneath the walls of Nogent by General Bourmont. Marshals Victor and Oudinot had not thought it prudent to hazard a battle in order to stay the field-marshal, and being unable to bar his passage, they had retired, the first on Nangis, the second, on the river of Yères, and Oudinot had even ordered the bridges of Montereau and Melun to be blown up.

As soon as the Emperor learnt the progress of Schwartzenberg, he left Marmont and Mortier on the Marne, and hastened, with the rapidity of lightning, to the point menaced by the Austrian army. On the 16th February, he had arrived on the Yères, holding his head-quarters at Guignes. On the 17th, he set out for Nangis, where he found the Russian *corps* of Wittgenstein, which supported the movement of the Austro-

Bavarians; another Russian column, under the orders of General Palhen, was at Mormant. The Emperor attacked these two generals, and completely routed both. General Gerard carried the village of Mormant, where the 32nd entered at full charge; the cavalry, commanded by Generals Valmy and Milhaud, and supported by the artillery of General Drouot, instantly broke the squares of the Russian infantry, which, in its defeat, was taken almost entire, generals, officers, and soldiers, to the number of upwards of six thousand. The General-in-chief, Wittgenstein had scarcely time to escape and take refuge in Nogent. In passing through Provins, he had announced that he should be at Paris on the 18th. Compelled to traverse this same town in his flight, he frankly avowed the complete defeat he had just met with, in exchange for the great success which he had promised himself. "I have been well beaten," said he; "two of my divisions have been taken; in two hours you will see the French."

This time, the announcement of the Russian general was verified. The Count de Valmy, and Marshal Oudinot marched on Provins and occupied it, whilst General Gerard made for Villeneuve le Comte, where he attacked and beat the Bavarian divisions. But for the fault of a general, otherwise a very distinguished officer, and who neglected to charge at the head of a division of dragoons placed under his command, the *corps* of General Wrede had been entirely destroyed.

He passed the night of the 17th at the castle of Nangis, resolved to march the next day on Montereau, where Marshal Victor ought to have been in advance of the Austrian army, and to have taken up his position on the evening of the 17th.

However, when General Chateau presented himself on the 18th, at ten o'clock in the morning, before Montereau, this important post had already been occupied upwards of an hour by General Bianci, whose divisions had taken position on the heights which covered the bridges and the town. Although very inferior in number, General Chateau hearkened only to his

courage and briskly attacked the enemy; but the forces were too unequal: deprived of the support of the divisions which ought to have arrived the preceding evening, General Chateau was at first repulsed; the vigour with which he sustained his attack, nevertheless, gave time to some other *corps* to arrive



and place themselves in line of battle. Gerard, who was one of the first to arrive, had established a sort of equilibrium in the chances of battle, when the Emperor came up at full gallop; his presence redoubled the ardour and bravery of the troops; he rode in the thickest of the fight, in the midst of the bullets and balls; and as the soldiers murmured at seeing him thus expose himself, he said to them: "Go on my friends, fear nothing; the bullet that is to kill me, is not yet cast." The enemy had already given way on the plain of Surville, when General Pajot, suddenly falling upon his rear, by the road of Melun, forced him to throw himself into the Seine and the Yonne. The guard had no occasion to engage; it only appeared to behold the enemy flying in all directions, and to assist at the noble triumph of the *corps* of Gerard and Pajot.

The inhabitants of Montereau associated themselves with this triumph by firing from their windows on the Austrians and Wirtemburgers. The French army sustained a loss which grievously affected the Emperor: General Chateau, in return for the great valour which he had this day displayed, was struck dead on the bridge of Montereau. The national guards of Brittany took part in the action, and possessed themselves of the suburb of Melun; the Emperor had said to them in passing them in review: "Shew what the men of the west are capable of; they were ever the faithful defenders of their country and the most firm supporters of the monarchy."

After distributing praises and rewards to the generals who had contributed to gaining this battle, Napoleon thought of those who had delayed their march, or exhibited negligence in their command. He reproached General Guyot, before all the troops, with having allowed several pieces of artillery to be taken from his bivouac of the preceding night. General Montbrun was mentioned in the bulletin as having abandoned the forest of Fontainebleau to the Cossacks, without resistance; and General Digeon was sent before a council of war to answer for the want of ammunitions which the cannoneers had evinced at the attack of the plain of Surville. The gravity of the circumstances called for great severity; nevertheless, he revoked the measure taken with regard to General Digeon at the request of General Sorbier, who reminded him of the past services of his old companion in arms.

But of all the reproaches which issued out of the mouth of Napoleon and resounded throughout Europe, the one which produced the greatest impression was undeniably that bestowed on Marshal Victor, of whom the official report said: "The Duke of Belluna should have arrived on the evening of the 17th, at Montereau; he halted at Salins: it is a serious fault. The occupation of the bridges of Montereau would having gained a day for the Emperor, and allowed him to have taken the Austrian army totally unprepared." The Emperor

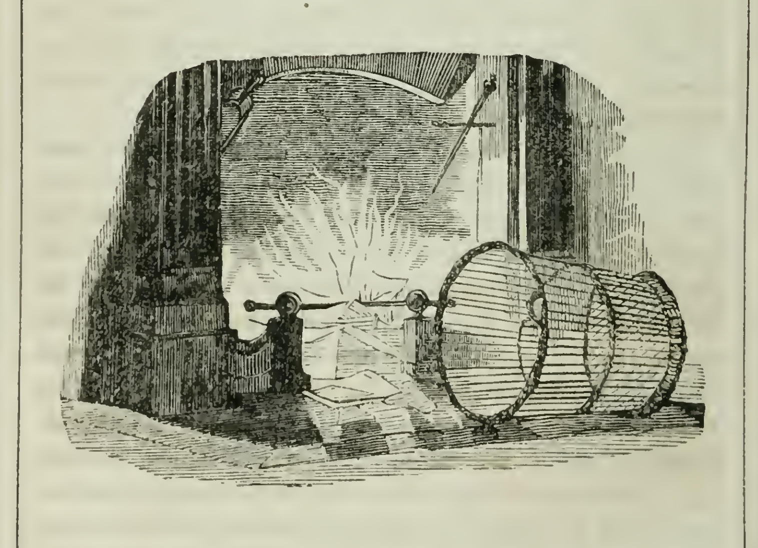
did not confine himself to this solemn reproof, he sent the marshal permission to retire from the army, and disposed of his command in favour of General Gerard.

Victor, already deeply afflicted by the death of his son-in-law, the intrepid Chateau, did not submit to his fate in silence; he sought out the Emperor, explained to him the delays by the fatigues of his troops, and added that, if he had committed a fault, the blow which had reached his family had made him cruelly expiate it. The image of the expiring Chateau presented itself before Napoleon and softened him; the marshal profited by this moment to say to him with emotion: "I will procure a musket, I have not forgotten my old trade; Victor will place himself in the ranks of the guard." The Emperor was vanquished by this noble language. "Well! well! Victor," said he, tendering his hand, "remain; I cannot restore you your *corps d'armée*, since I have given it to Gerard, but I award you two divisions of the guard; go and take the command of them, and let there be no longer a question of anything between us."

The battles of Mormant and Montereau had the same result for Schwartzenberg, as those of Montmirail and Vauchamp, of Champaubert and Chateau Thierry had had for Blucher; the Austrians, as unfortunate as the Russians and Prussians in their march on Paris, were compelled to fall back in their turn, across a population embittered by their violence and unforgiving in the pursuit. Napoleon returned to Troyes on the 23rd February; the presence of the enemy there had encouraged the partisans of the Bourbons to make public manifestations of their opinion; an emigrant and a *garde du corps* had worn the decoration of St. Louis; the Emperor had them tried by a military commission which condemned them to die; the emigrant alone was executed, the *garde du corps* having taken flight.

Beaten on the Seine and the Marne, and seeing their two grand armies routed, and retiring discouraged before the

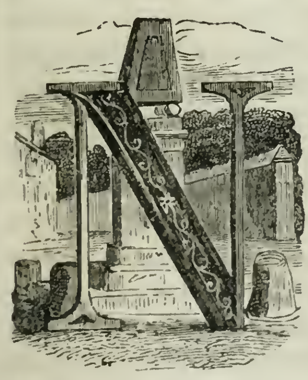
victorious troops of Napoleon, the allied sovereigns again thought to gain time to reform their army and make their reserves advance. With this object in view, they proposed to resume the sterile negociations opened at Frankfort in the month of Nòvember; and in order to inspire Napoleon with more confidence, and leave him no doubt of the sincerity of the pacific dispositions of the coalition, the Emperor of Austria, his father-in-law, was charged with the first propositions.





CHAPTER XIX.

Congress of Chatillon. End of the campaign of 1814. The Allies enter Paris.



NAPOLEON slept, on the 22nd February, at the hamlet of Chatres, where he occupied the hut of a charcoal-burner. On the morning of the 23rd he was still there, preparing to march upon Troyes, when an aide-de-camp from the Emperor of Austria, Prince Wentzel Lichtenstein, was introduced to him. The apparent object of the prince's message, was to convey a reply from the Emperor Francis to a letter which his son-in-law had written to him from Nangis. The Austrian aide-de-camp commenced with

flattering words. His master and his august allies had recognized the arm of Napoleon by the redoubled blows which had just attained them; it was with regret that they now continued a war so terrible, the chances of which became every day more fatal for them. Thus spoke the prince, and Napoleon was astonished at a language which contrasted so forcibly with the reports which had been spread on all sides by an indiscreet diplomacy. It appeared to be the case of frank explanation, at least as much as the Austrian envoy could make it. Napoleon asked him if it were not true that the coalition aimed at his person and his dynasty, and that it designed to re-establish the Bourbons on the throne of France, according to the old and constant idea of the English cabinet. The prince of Lichtenstein did not hesitate to declare that such a project had not entered into the views of the potentates of the Continent, and that the Bourbons were only brought forward as a means of effecting a diversion in the interior of France. This reply was far from being satisfactory. If the Bourbons had been represented by obscure agents, merely, in the allied camp, the strange part which the Prince of Lichtenstein wished to make them assume, could scarcely have been credited; but the Bourbons had arrived in person in the *suite* of the stranger; the Count d'Artois, was in Switzerland, the Duke d'Angoulême in the Pyrenees, all the princes of the family were beneath the flags of the coalition. How then could this coalition, of which England was still the main-stay and the head, and which had pursued for five and twenty years the triumph of the divine right over the popular principle, so cruelly mock at the august personages who represented for it monarchical legitimacy, the supremacy and antiquity of the royal races of Europe? The descendants of Louis XIV. had been humiliated and proscribed by revolutionary France; no matter! but that European royalty should have thought of abandoning and holding them up to the ridicule of the world, at the moment of victoriously terminating a bloody struggle, commenced and maintained for

them during a quarter of a century! it would have been in opposition to its own interests; it was altogether unlikely, or, to speak plainly, morally impossible; for, if it had so happened that the allied monarchs no longer thought of the inevitable result of their triumph, the political principle which had issued from the coalition, would always have found statesmen ready to make themselves its organs, and who would have subjected the kings themselves to the supremacy of logic.

At the point which matters had attained, nothing but victory could preserve France from the restoration of the Bourbons. Napoleon listened, nevertheless, favourably to the protestations of the Prince of Lichtenstein, and to his pacific overtures. He promised to send on the following day one of his generals to the advanced posts, there to negociate an armistice.

Scarcely had the Austrian officer departed, than M. de St. Aignan, the Frankfort negociator, presented himself before the Emperor. He came from Paris, and every thing that he had seen and heard made him feel the necessity of ending the war as quickly as possible, for all classes were tired of it; the public anxiety required it at any price, and it was this M. de St. Aignan ventured to counsel. "Sire," he exclaimed, "the peace will be sufficiently good, if it be sufficiently prompt." "It will come soon enough if it be disgraceful," sharply retorted the Emperor, whose severe eye accompanied M. de St. Aignan to the door of the hut.

We have said that the allies merely desired a simple suspension of arms, in order to gain time to reinforce themselves, and also in order to interrupt the too rapid course of Napoleon's successes, and enfeeble the moral superiority and the ascendant which the military events of the last eight days had given him. The quick eye of the Emperor easily discerned this through the maze of the contrary declarations of the foreign negociators.

He required, therefore, that the bases of the peace should form part of the conditions of the armistice, and he even



indicated these bases, in which he placed before all, the retention of Antwerp and the coasts of Belgium. Napoleon, who foresaw that the English would oppose a proposition so menacing for their interests, with all their might, insisted upon this being at once considered prior to the armistice, and not to wait for the congress of Chatillon; which would have continued the derisive measures of Frankfort; this was the only means of escaping from the conditions and fetters which he feared on the part of the British diplomacy.

The sovereigns of the continent, however, evaded a proposal which was contrary to their views, and refused to separate themselves from an ally who was their leader, and almost their master. They persisted in referring all negociations relative to peace, to the congress.

Napoleon, therefore, resolved upon vigorously prosecuting the war, at the same time, permitting proposals for an armistice to be considered at Lusigny, and negociations for peace to proceed at Chatillon.

Whilst, however, the Austrians, the last of the coalition that had been beaten, affecting to be conciliating on the Seine and the Aube, and sought to detain Napoleon there in the hope of an approaching cessation of hostilities, the Prussians, the date of whose defeats now numbered ten days, and who had hastened to repair their losses, again became menacing on the Marne, and Blucher, profiting by the absence of the great captain, once more essayed to march upon Paris.

Napoleon learnt at Troyes, in the night of the 26th February, that the Prussian army was in motion. His resolution was soon taken. He again hastened to the succour of his capital, and came, with the prodigious celerity which rendered his marches and manœuvres so distinguishing, to fall upon the rear of Blucher, who still had Marmont and Mortier in front.

But it was important that Schwartzenberg should not observe the departure of the Emperor, and that he should remain ignorant of the fact that he was only opposed to the two *corps d'armée* of Macdonald and Oudinot, which Napoleon had left under the command-in-chief of the first of these marshals. In order to effect this, great demonstrations were made along the whole line of the French army, such as usually took place when the Emperor appeared in the camp.

The Emperor, however, was already far on his way. Leaving Troyes on the 27th, in the morning, he arrived in the evening on the confines of the department of the Aube and Marne, and passed the night at Herbisse in very humble quarters.

On the 28th at Sézanne, he learnt that Mortier and Marmont, after having effected their junction, on the 26th, at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, still found themselves too inferior in number to Blucher, and had retired before him in the direction

of Meaux. He immediately marched in this direction and fixed his head-quarters at the castle of Estrenay, where he passed the night of the 28th February.

Some officers, sent by Macdonald and Oudinot, joined him there. They announced that on the very day the Emperor had quitted Troyes, the Austrians had resumed the offensive, and that at the close of a murderous engagement on the heights of Bar-sur-Aube, they had easily perceived that they were no longer in the presence of the bulk of the French army, nor of its chief. This discovery had emboldened them to detach the Prince of Hesse-Homburg and General Bianchi on Lyons, in order to hinder Marshal Augereau from attempting the least diversion by the basin of the Saone, and even to drive him from the important position which he occupied in this second city of the kingdom. Despite a somewhat considerable detachment, Schwartzenberg and Wittgenstein believed themselves sufficiently superior in number to fall back upon Troyes, where the Dukes of Tarentum and Reggio were not strong enough to maintain their position.

Between the perils of the capital of the empire, and those which might threaten the chief town of a department, there could not be a moment's hesitation. Napoleon at first thought of arresting the enemy, who was but a few marches from Paris, and whom he all but held beneath his formidable hand. He hoped to finish soon enough with Blucher, to be enabled to return at full speed upon Schwartzenberg, and fall unexpectedly on the Austrians, before they had made any alarming progress. It was the same genius which had given to the world the admirable spectacle of "the campaign of five days," in 1796; only, he repeated this time for several months, that which he had then done for some days, namely, multiplying himself as it were, so as to be always where the danger was most pressing, and beating, at a great distance, and almost at the same time, the divers bodies of the hostile army.

As soon as Blucher learnt that the Emperor approached, he

sought to escape him; the march of the Prussian army on Paris had not been so easy and rapid as Napoleon had feared. Mortier and Marmont had only given way foot by foot, and their retreat had even been marked by some advantages gained in the environs of Meaux, in the affairs of Gué-à-Trême and de Lisy.

The Emperor only knew of the retrograde movement of Blucher on the day of the 1st March, when he had reached the heights which command La Ferté. He had flattered himself with hemming in the Prussian generalissimo between himself and the Marshals of Ragusa and Treviso, and he now beheld him precipitately retreating in the direction of Soissons, after having made a rampart of the Marne, by breaking down the bridges.

Orders were immediately expedited to Marmont and Mortier, to pursue the Prussians without a moment's delay, whilst Bacler d'Albe and Rumigny proceeded to announce the retreat of the Prussians, the one at Paris, and the other at Chatillon. The reconstruction of the bridge of La Ferté cost the Emperor a day; his army could at length cross the Marne, in the night of the 2nd March, and march upon Chateau Thierry, to take afterwards the road to Soissons, where the Emperor hoped to receive Blucher beneath the cannon of the place, the fortifications of which were in good condition, and which had a garrison of fourteen hundred Poles to defend it.

Mortier and Marmont executed with equal celerity and intelligence the orders which had been transmitted to them; and their march on Soissons, parallel with that of the Emperor, kept Blucher constantly hemmed in between two French armies. The Prussians then seemed lost beyond all resource; their flight could only lead them to a capitulation or total destruction, beneath the walls of Soissons.

But Providence willed that the Prussians should not be annihilated! her designs were quite otherwise! . . . . At the

moment when Blucher was about to fall beneath the blows of the French troops who pressed and surrounded him, Soissons, which should have rejected, opened her gates to him; Soissons was no longer guarded by Polish bravery and fidelity; the Russians of Wintzingerode and the Prussians of Bulow were now masters of the place; a French commandant had thus disposed matters.

Napoleon was at Fismes when he learned what had taken place at Soissons; his indignation was equal to his surprise. In order to maintain the feeble in the line of duty, and restrain the malcontents, he published, on the 4th March, two decrees, one of which ordered every Frenchman to run to arms on the approach of the enemy, and the other ordained the punishment of traitors for any functionary who should endeavour to damp the zeal of the citizens.

Neither did the foreign diplomacy remain inactive. By a decree dated at Chaumont, on the 1st March, the English plenipotentiaries had made all the powers of the continent take a formal engagement not to lay down their arms, until France had been reduced to her ancient limits. Napoleon soon learnt through M. de Rumigny that this treaty had become the *ultimatum* of the Allies at Chatillon, and he foresaw that they would seek to render peace impossible, by proposing to him inacceptable conditions, although appearing to wish for a conclusion to the war, and to search for means of conciliation.

The French army had just reached Craonne (7th March), and completely beaten Blucher, who, instead of shutting himself up in Soissons, had continued his retreat on the Aisne; when the despatches of the Duke of Vicenza announced to the Emperor that the coalition required of him, not merely that he should abandon all the conquests of the Republic and the Empire, but that this concession was laid down as a preliminary only to the negociations by the French plenipotentiaries themselves, who were forbidden all propositions

contrary to the irrevocable resolutions of the sovereign powers. The humiliation would have been too deep, the sacrifice too great for Napoleon vanquished; what must it not have been, when the requisitions of the enemy reached him on the field of battle, where he had just gained a brilliant victory? "If we must be fettered," he exclaimed, "it is not for me to forward it, and still less must they force it on me."

The diplomatists of ancient Europe had foreseen this reply, which completely fell in with their views. They well knew that the man who had raised himself above all ancient and modern glories, as the representative of new France, would never consent to descend from this height in order to go and shamefully propose to the monarchs who still bore the impress of his foot on their haughty brows, to submit himself, and to lower the great people accordingly as they desired. A like concession could only be imposed on the men of ancient France, and even these would scarcely have wished to commence it. To demand that Napoleon should himself offer a condition as the basis of peace, which must later wound the patriotic susceptibility and the national sentiments even of the refugees of the Revolution and of the Empire, was a fresh declaration of war, a method of outraging, embittering, and rendering irreconcilable the enemy with whom they pretended incessantly to negociate.

M. de Rumigny, therefore did not proceed at Chatillon with the fresh proposition which the Allies had exacted. A few days after, the conferences for the armistice were broken off, and the congress of Chatillon ended. Napoleon, speaking afterwards on the pretensions of the allies, expressed himself in these terms:

"I ought to have refused," he says, "and I did so, fully comprehending the cause; and, even on my rock, here, at this moment, I do not repent of it. Few will understand me, I am aware; but to the vulgar even, and despite the fatal turn of events, must it not plainly appear that duty and

honour left me no other choice? The Allies, if they had once entrapped me, would they have remained there? Would their peace have been one of good faith, their reconciliation sincere? It would have evinced little knowledge of them, it would have been folly indeed to believe and abandon one's self to them. Would they not have profited by the immense advantage which their treaty had secured them, in order to achieve, by intrigue, that which they had commenced by arms? And what had become of the safety, the independence, the future of France? I preferred continuing, even to extinction, the chances of war, and to abdicate when needful."

Napoleon, in effect, did run the chance of war. Victorious at Craonne, on the 7th, he marched on Laon, the heights of which were occupied by the Prussian army. To the advantage of position, Blucher, in spite of his defeats, still joined, and more than ever, that of numbers. Since La Ferté, he had not ceased to re-inforce himself, by successively uniting in his retreat, with Wintzingerode, Bulow, Sacken, Langeron, etc. But another and more important support arrived for him, and he was enabled to await Napoleon with an army of upwards of a hundred thousand men. Bernadotte, who appeared to have hesitated in passing the Rhine, and who lagged rather than marched in the train of the troops of the coalition; Bernadotte, who could no longer be deceived by the hopes held out to him at Abo, by the czar, in presence of the Bourbons seated beneath the tent of the Allies; Bernadotte formed Blucher's reserve.

Nevertheless, the Emperor resolved upon attacking the Prussians, and was preparing on the 10th, at four o'clock in the morning, by putting on his boots, and asking for his horses, when two dragoons were led before him, who had arrived on foot from the direction of Corbeny, and announced that the *corps* of the Duke of Ragusa had been surprised and completely routed that same night. At this news, Napoleon suspended the order for attack which had been transmitted to his generals; but



the enemy, informed by his couriers of the events of the night, now took the offensive; and, after an obstinate struggle, in which the division Charpentier valiantly sustained the honour of the French arms, the Emperor was compelled to think of a retreat. He left Chavignon, in the morning of the 11th, passed the whole of the 12th at Soissons, where he lest the Duke of Treviso to restrain on this side the army of Blucher, and marched on Rheims, which General St. Prest, a Frenchman in the service of Russia, had just taken from General

Corbineau. This town was retaken as soon as attacked; the Emperor entered it on the night of the 13th. Marmont, after rallying his troops, had rejoined him there, and taken part in the attack. Napoleon at first bitterly reproached him for having allowed himself to be surprised, and thus compromising the success of the day of the 10th, before Laon; but presently he resumed the tone of benevolence and affection to which he had accustomed the Marshal.

Napoleon halted for three days at Rheims, and there divided his time between military combinations and administrative measures.

Events meanwhile were hurrying forward.

Whilst on the northern frontiers, General Maison maintained the positions confided to his care, Carnot nullified all the attempts of the English on Antwerp, and General Bizaunet cut to pieces in Bergen-op-Zoom four thousand men of the same nation, who had introduced themselves in the night to the place, and had hoped to render themselves masters of it without a blow, by means of the criminal information which they had procured, the chances of war, rendered more alarming by political machinations, declared against Napoleon at all other points of the Empire.

Soult had been beaten at Orthez, and retired on Tarbes and Toulouse. Augereau could scarcely maintain himself at Lyons, and was preparing to evacuate that city, in order to take up his position behind the Isère. Bourdeaux had opened her gates to the English*, and the Duke of Angoulême was expected there. The Count of Artois had arrived in Burgundy; and Schwartzenberg, whom Macdonald and Oudinot were not strong enough to arrest, again threatened Paris, where the ardour and activity of the royalist committee was redoubled.

* Linch, the mayor of Bordeaux, who delivered this city into the hands of the English and the Bourbons, had said to Napoleon, three months before: "Napoleon has done every thing for the French, the French will do as much for him."

In this extreme situation, the gravity and peril of which he measured with a glance, the Emperor felt that he could only escape by a striking and decisive action, and he did not hesitate to direct the intended blow towards Schwartzenberg, whose approach already spread alarm throughout the capital. He, therefore, once more left to Marmont and Mortier, the care of restraining Blucher, and preserving Paris from the side of the Aisne and Marne, and for fear they should be unable to fulfil this task with success, or that some hostile body should escape them, and surprise the seat of government, he commanded his brother Joseph, whom he had named his lieutenant-general, not to wait until the danger should be too imminent for him to set out and place the Empress and the King of Rome in safety; he then marched towards Epernay, and by the way of Fère Champenoise and Mèry, to take the Austrians in the rear, whom he supposed to have reached Nogent.

The Emperor had quitted Rheims in the morning of the 17th. On the 19th he was at the gates of Troyes, and beat the enemy's rear-guard, at the same hamlet of Châtre, where he had received the Prince of Lichtenstein and M. de St. Aignan. But the Austrians were not marching on Paris, as had been announced to him; after having advanced as far as Provins, they had suddenly retrograded. The Emperor Alexander, on learning the successes of Napoleon at Craonne and Rheims, had feared that Schwartzenberg, by approaching the capital alone, would be again beaten separately, and that all these daily and isolated defeats would end by discouraging the troops of the coalition, already filled with apprehensions and alarms by the constantly increasing hostile attitude of the populations of Champagne, Lorraine, and Alsace. The czar had therefore insisted, in a council of war held at Troyes, that the two grand allied armies should forthwith manœuvre so as to effect their junction in the environs of Chalons, in order to march thence on Paris, and crush everything

which might be opposed to their passage. This advice had prevailed, and Napoleon met, on the 20th, before d'Arcis, the entire army of Schwartzenberg, which was bearing in a mass for this town, in order to cross the Aube, and rapidly gain the plains of Champagne, where the junction was to be effected. This sudden change of system in the military operations of the Allies, completely disarranged all the plans of the Emperor, who, moreover, quickly perceived the difficult and perilous position in which he was placed, by encountering an army three times as strong as his own, where he had only thought to find a rear-guard. Nevertheless, he put a good face on the matter, and, as on so many other occasions, called on valour to supply the place of numbers, by casting into the struggle the weight of his own example, and reckoning his personal



dangers for nothing. "Surrounded in the crowd by the charges of cavalry," says the *Manuscript of* 1814, "he freed himself

only by making use of his sword. On divers occasions, he fought at the head of his escort, and far from avoiding the dangers, he seemed, on the contrary, to brave them. A shell fell at his feet; he awaited its bursting, and disappeared in a cloud of dust and smoke; he was believed to be lost; presently he arose, flung himself upon another horse, and again went to place himself beneath the fire of the batteries! . . . . Death would have nothing to do with him!"

In spite of the prodigious efforts of the French army, and the unchangeable heroism of its chief, the battle of Arcis could not hinder the passage of the Aube, by the Austrians. The Emperor retired in good order, after having done the enemy much harm, and held him in check for a whole day; but Schwartzenberg ended by gaining the road which was to conduct him to Blucher. On the same day, Augereau abandoned Lyons to Bianchi and Bubua.

Being no longer able to oppose the execution of the enemy's plans, and the formidable junction counselled by Alexander, Napoleon thought of disarranging in his turn, the fresh combinations of the Allies, by seeking to drag them, in spite of themselves, into a new circle of operations, and holding himself on the limits of Champagne and Lorraine, whence he could, according to the march of events, collect the numerous garrisons of the east, organize the rising of the population, destroy the isolated bodies, manœuvre in the rear of Schwartzenberg and Blucher, cut off their communications with the frontier, or if the dangers of Paris required it, approach, so as to place them between his indefatigable army, and the not less intrepid troops of Marmont and Mortier.

With this design, the Emperor took the direction of St. Dizier, where he slept on the 23rd. Caulaincourt rejoined him there, and announced the definite rupture of the negociations. This news had been foreseen, since the pretensions of the Allies was no longer a mystery. However, the malcontents at head-quarters took the opportunity of murmuring

more loudly than ever against the Emperor, whom, after the example of his embittered enemies, they still accused of the prolongation of the war.

"Round the person of Napoleon," says one of his secretaries, "are too many persons who regret being absent from Paris. Every one is disturbed, and complaints abound. In the room next to that in which Napoleon is, the chiefs of the army may be heard considering the discouraging state of affairs. The younger officers form a group around them; their former habit of confidence is shaken; and the possibility of a revolution is discussed. Every one speaks, and each demands of the other: 'Where are we going? What is to become of us? If he falls, shall we fall with him?'"

On the 24th, the Emperor marched on Doulevent, where he passed the whole of the 25th. The next morning, he returned to St. Dizier, in order to support his rear-guard, which was attacked by a body of the enemy, appertaining, as he believed to the army of Schwartzenberg, but which was a detachment from Blucher, commanded by Wintzingerode. His presence saved the rear guard. Wintzingerode was beaten and pursued, in his flight, by the two roads of Vitry and Bar-le-Duc.

But this feeble advantage could scarcely compensate for the total rout which the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso had sustained on the previous evening, at Fêre-Champenoise. Now the road to Paris was open, without impediment; and they did not fail to follow it, and vigorously urge before them, the remains of the army which they had just beaten.

As soon as Napoleon knew of the defeat of his lieutenants, and of the danger incurred by the capital, he did not hesitate to return with all speed to Paris. Leaving Doulevent, on the 29th, at day-break, he expedited General Dejean, his aide-de-camp, in order to announce to the Parisians that he flew to succour them; and on the evening of the 30th, he was within five leagues of his capital, halting at Fromenteau, before

accomplishing the final distance which separated him from his good city of Paris, when he was informed that he was too late, that this great city had just yielded, and that the enemy would enter on the following morning. Arrested by this fatal news, he returned to Fontainebleau. Paris had indeed capitulated. The Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso, after the disaster of Fère Champenoise, had made vain efforts to stay the enemy.

On his approach, Joseph, acting upon the orders of Napoleon, had required the precipitate departure of the Empress and the King of Rome, despite the almost unanimous advice of the regency council; and this resolution had caused Talleyrand to say, "Now let every one save himself who can," It is added that Queen Hortense, afflicted at seeing the regent and her son abandon the capital to intriguers and conspirators, strongly pressed her to remain, and said with a prophetic conviction: "If you leave the Tuileries, you will never see them again." But Joseph, whom Cambacérès and Clarke supported against the opinion of the other members of the council, hurried away Maria Louisa. "One of the most astonishing circumstances of the moment," says the historian of the battle and of the capitulation of Paris (Pons de L'Hèrault), "is undeniably, the obstinacy with which the King of Rome refused to depart. This obstinacy was so great, that it became necessary to use violence in order to remove the young prince. The cries of the infant king were heart-rending. He repeated several times: 'My father told me not to go away. .' All the spectators shed tears. Let not the reader imagine that this is an anecdote invented to please; the painful scene was enacted before witnesses whose testimony is beyond doubt. It may have been that the young prince was tutored what to say; but, at all events, it was astounding from the choice of his expressions and the manner in which he employed them."

After the departure of Maria Louisa and her son, preparations were made for the defence of Paris; but disorder

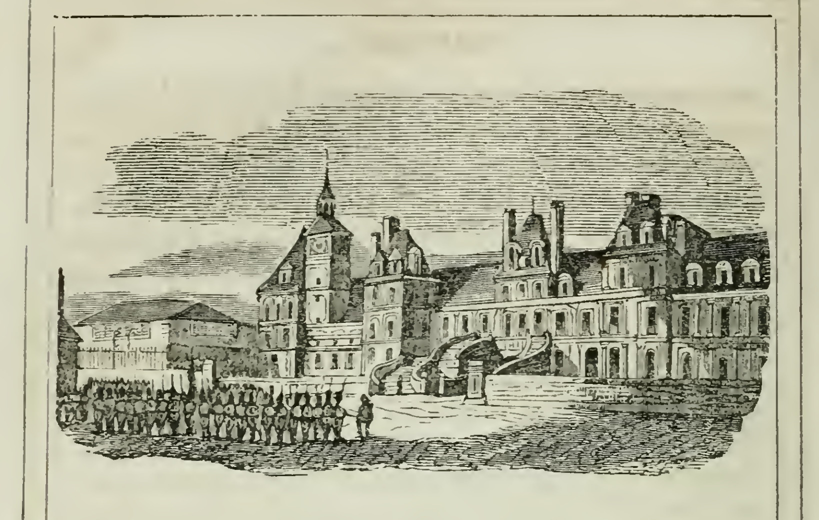
reigned in all the administrations, and especially in that of war, the chief of which, the Duke of Feltre, conducted himself so strangely, that the gravest suspicions fell upon him. Arms were wanting on one side, ammunition on the other, and everywhere an invisible hand seemed to paralyze the defence and favour the invasion. Despite the mysterious hindrances which patriotism evinced, the national guard, under the command of the brave Moncey, performed prodigies of valour on the day of the 30th March. The pupils of Alfort, of the Imperial Guard, of the Polytechnic School, gloriously associated themselves with the national guard. At the barrier of Clichy, in particular, the allies met with a spirited resistance. The pattern of French soldiers, the venerable Moncey, was there, with his son, and Allent, the leader of his staff; celebrated artists, and distinguished writers surrounded him and shared his perils.* "We have commenced well," he said to them, "let us end well. This is our last intrenchment; let us here make a final effort. Honour and the country demands it of us."

But courage was at length compelled to yield to numbers; it was forced to yield everywhere, lost, as it was, in the midst of so much cowardice and treason. Although Moncey again felt, at the barriers of Paris, the patriotic fervour of youth, others, who commenced like him, finished less nobly. Marmont allowed himself to be surrounded by the skilful manœuvres of the royalist committee; the *ruse* of the Prince of Benevento, who had pretended to depart with the ministers, but who did not leave Paris, bewildered the Duke of Ragusa on all sides. They persuaded him that the capital could only be saved by a capitulation, and, in order to save the capital, he delivered the Empire. On the 31st March,

* Amongst the brave men who abandoned their pacific labours to hasten to the defence of their country, M. Pons de l'Hérault mentions Emmanuel Duputy, Charlet, Aubert, Maguin and Horace Vernet.

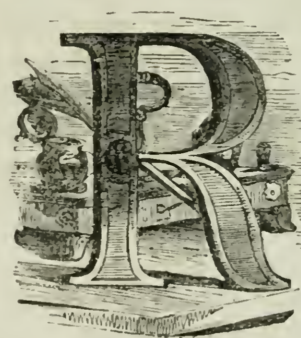
1814, the foreigner triumphantly entered Paris, there to overthrow the throne of Napoleon; and those who opened her gates to him, were the same men whom the Imperial statutes of the 30th March, 1806, had constituted the hereditary supporters of the new dynasty.





CHAPTER XX.

Fall and abdication of Napoleon. Recall of the Bourbons. Farewell of Fontainebleau. Departure for the island of Elba.



ROME, Vienna, Berlin, Madrid, Naples, Lisbon, Moscow, capitals of ancient Europe, you are then all avenged! In her turn Paris submits to the insolent domination of the stranger; the Louvre and the Tuileries are in the power of the Russian and the German; the Cossacks encamp on the *Place de la Révolution*, and the Bourbons are about to return! Barbarism believes itself triumphant, the counter-revolution irrevocably accomplished. Barbarism and the counter-revolution are both deceived.

They have not conquered civilisation and democracy, because

they occupy its strong hold. If the coalition is mistress of Paris, the French are still the masters of the Allies, for they continue towards them, beneath the burthen of invasion, the liberal education which they had commenced giving, by means of conquest; more than ever do they continue their instructions in the arts, sciences, industry, manners, laws, and ideas of the country where the democratic spirit and the genius of progress have fixed the seat of their empire; more than ever will the initiatory nation fulfil her propagating mission, exercise her supreme patronage, and establish her superiority over other nations, by sending them back to their hearths, prouder and more jealous of that which they will have learnt in France, than with the military successes which they will have obtained by means of the triple support of numbers, chance and treason.

Let the *ancien régime* therefore moderate its joy. If it have succeeded in again seizing on the sceptre, the French nation will behold it resumed but with repugnance, and will only attach herself more firmly to the new principles, redouble her solicitude for the interests created by the revolution, and set a greater price on the social conquests of the democracy.

Thus, all the efforts of the monarchs for the last five and twenty years had only led to a triumph which must sooner or later turn against themselves. On the one hand, the great man in falling from the throne, will not descend from the high position which he already occupies in history, if he lose a crown, he will retain all his glory, all his genius, all his moral greatness; on the other hand, the great nation, beneath the combined domination of the stranger and the counter-revolution, will steadfastly remain revolutionary, will preserve all its civilizing power, and continue to reign over the political world. Thus does providence proceed! The gradual emancipation of humanity, the progressive elevation of plebeianism, as M. Ballanche says, the freedom of labour, the exclusive consecration of the rights of merit, the foundation of the

aristocracy of virtue, talents and services, that is to say the definitive organization of the veritable democracy; such are the designs which his giant mind has conceived for eternity, and the successive realization which must proceed. An invisible hand, by ways known only to itself, makes the rebel powers themselves, who obstinately struggle against the inevitable approach of the future, concur in this work, and strive at the same object, although they at present flatter themselves with having secured the return of the past!

The capital of the French Empire, then, was occupied by the foreign armies; the allies would have nothing to do with Napoleon or his family; the Emperor of Austria, alone thought of the King of Rome and of the regent. As for Alexander, he put on an attitude of moderation and generosity; he declared that he would respect the will of the French people, and called upon it to assume the government which best suited it; an illusory appeal addressed to a handful of the agents of the royalist committee, the interpreters of the national will, and which included the sovereign committees of France in Talleyrand's saloon; a deputation, reckoning amongst its members the famous Count Ferrand, repaired to the Emperor Alexander; it responded to the appeal of the czar; and came to tell him what France desired. The Count of Nesselrode, too, who was intimately acquainted with his master's thoughts, revealed to the deputation that that which it desired was determined upon by the autocrat. When, therefore, Alexander proclaimed the free sovereignty of France, and made objections to Talleyrand on the possibility of the return of the Bourbons, it was but a comedy on his part, according to the expression of one of the actors, M. D. Bourrienne. Alexander did not require the overwhelming demonstrations of the Prince of Benevento to learn that Louis XVIII was a principle, and that the coalition had fought for that principle; but it was advisible that the resolution which he had long since formed, should be considered as the effect of

the manifestations of public opinion, and he desired to conceal his own wants and those of his allies behind the authority of one of the great bodies of state, which they could regard as the official organ of the nation. Talleyrand placed him at his ease when, after having made him listen to the noisy clamours of a few isolated groups in favour of the Bourbons, he assured him that he would cause everything to be decreed that he deemed needful, even the dethronement of Napoleon and the recall of Louis XVIII, by that very senate which had formerly refused the Emperor nothing, and which the nation had heaped with its contempt, and openly reproved for its base and indefatigable complaisance. The event justified the confidence of Talleyrand. On the 2nd April, the senate declared Napoleon Bonaparte and his family expelled from the throne of France; then, by another act, it called upon the head of the house of Bourbon to resume the crown of his fathers; but, as the members of the imperceptible minority who had sometimes hazarded their opposition during the Empire, and whom Napoleon had disdainfully treated as ideologists, had lent their support to the royalist party in the hope of obtaining a constitution more favourable to the public liberties, at length had their influence in the assembly, where formerly their vote had been of no weight, and left it to them to draw up the plan of a constitution, which he intended subsequently to dispose of advantageously to Louis XVIII.

Whilst Talleyrand as president of a provisionary government, in which he had given himself for colleagues Beurnonville, Jaucort, d'Alberg, and the Abbé de Montesquiou, reigned in the capital, on account of the strangers and the Bourbons, Napoleon was at Fontainbleau, in the midst of a faithful guard burning to avenge the shame of the capitulation of Paris, but surrounded by a staff which evinced neither the same ardour nor the same impatience. In the night of the 2nd April, the Duke of Vicenza came to announce to him that the monarchs whom he had so often spared, and whose

royal destines he could have closed after Austerlitz, Jena and Wagram, refused to treat with him, and demanded his abdication. At first irritated and rendered indignant, he again wished to try the lot of arms; but all was dull and silent around him; his old companions in arms are now but the great dignitaries of a wavering monarchy, whose fall they are wholly unwilling to partake of. "Load a man with benefits," says Montesquiou, "and the first idea with which you inspire him is to seek for the means of preserving them." Napoleon now felt this, and the sorrowful experience determined him to write the following lines:—

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend the throne, to quit France and even life for the good of the country, inseparable from the rights of his son, from those of the regency of the Empress and the maintenance of the laws of the Empire.

"Done at our palace of Fontainebleau, 4th April, 1814.

"NAPOLEON."

Caulaincourt was charged to bear this act to Paris; Ney and Macdonald were to accompany him. Despite the capitulation of Paris, Napoleon wished that Marmont should be a party to the message. Was it in order to withhold him on the verge of defection, and to prevent him aggravating his first fault by some act less excusable and more criminal?

However it may have been, the two marshals and the Duke of Vicenza departed for the capital, and the Emperor, who soon learnt that Marmont had joined the Allies, denounced this treason to the army by an order of the day, in which he also scanned the conduct of the senate.

Napoleon's plenipotentiaries did not succeed in their message. The shameful treaty which Marmont had just made with the



TALLEYRAND.

Prince of Schwartzenberg, and the nocturnal march of his army to make it pass over to the midst of the enemy, enabled the Allies to appear more exacting than ever, and to proclaim with Talleyrand, that Louis XVIII. was a principle, the consecration of which the coalition of kings had pursued, and which it would not abandon in the moment of triumph. The Duke of Vicenza, therefore, only brought back to Fontainebleau the demand of a fresh abdication, which was to exclude from the throne the Imperial prince and the entire family of Napoleon.

This proposition, as harsh as humiliating, was indignantly repulsed by the Emperor. He then thought seriously of continuing the war, and began to enumerate the resources which remained to him in the north, in the south, in the Alps and in Italy. But his calculations, his hopes, his resolutions remained solitary; and if any one broke the silence to reply to him, it was not a word of adhesion, of sympathy or enthusiasm that was heard, objections, were poured in, and the picture of civil war was not spared him. The Emperor hesitated, his soul was a prey to all the perplexities of uncertainty: the idea of civil war, however, deeply agitated him, and presently he exclaimed: "Well! since the idea of defending France any longer must be abandoned, does not Italy offer a retreat worthy of me? Will you follow me once more? Shall we march towards the Alps?"

At these words, the dull and care-worn faces of his old comrades became more overcast. Napoleon perceived that the staff of Lodi and Arcola was no longer there to follow him, and that the hereditary dukes of the Imperial monarchy, after having tasted the softness of courts, had become weary of the asperities of the trade of arms. "Ah! if in this moment," says Baron Fain, "Napoleon had indignantly passed into the room of the secondary officers, he would have found youth eager to respond to him! a few steps further, and he had been saluted at the foot of the stairs by the acclamations of all his

soldiers! their enthusiasm would have re-animated his soul! But Napoleon fell beneath the habits of his reign; he fancied he must give way, if henceforth he marched without the great officers which the crown had given him."

The Emperor now tasted the fruits of the monarchical re-action into which he had suffered himself to be betrayed: he required the intrepid lieutenants, who, at Toulon, enthusiastically swore to follow him to Egypt, and he found them no longer by his side, although surrounded by the same men, The Republic in elevating, had given him a train of heroes, and the Empire had made of these heroes great lords, who had neither the will nor the power to hinder him from falling.



This contrast was his work: Napoleon, according to the common saying, "had re-made the bed of the Bourbons" there

was nothing left but to retire at their approach, and yield to circumstances. This he was about to do. The Emperor now took up the pen, and at the end of a few minutes, handed to Caulaincourt the act which the Allies had demanded of him.

What was now to become of the disarmed and dethroned ruler of Europe? What lot could be assigned to a man who stood so high, and whose arm could at any moment arouse Europe? Where could he be placed?

The sovereigns balanced between Corfu, Corsica, or the island of Elba; the latter residence was at length preferred. A treaty was to regulate the destiny of the entire Imperial family. Napoleon, however, took offence at this, and had no desire that he should be proceeded with in this manner: "Of what use is a treaty," said he, "if they regulate with me that which concerns the interests of France?" He immediately sent couriers after Caulaincourt to withdraw his abdication. But it was too late; the sacrifice was consummated.

The treaty, rejected by Napoleon, was signed on the 11th April by the allied powers; and on the following day, the Count of Artois made his entry into Paris. He announced himself by a proclamation which promised the abolition of the conscription, and of the consolidated taxes. The Bourbons knew how much the popularity of Napoleon had been compromised by the indirect imposts and the prolongation of the war. They could not be ignorant that if manifestations of satisfaction and joy appeared in the south of France, it was the return of peace, as well as the hope of a reduction in the public charges, which provoked these demonstrations, rather than any sort of affection for the old dynasty. Their policy, therefore, consisted in first profiting by the faults of the Empire; and the greatest writer of the time, scrupled not to lend his talent to develope or exagerate the griefs which might have injured the Emperor in the minds of the people. To the cry:—"No more conscription! no more taxes!" was added the promise of liberal institutions, and the solemn en-

gagement to respect and hold inviolable the material and moral interests of new France. Never did the Revolution more plainly exhibit its strength! at the moment when the genius of it fell, through having ceased absolutely to depend on itself for support, after having so long rendered it glorious and strong, its enemies who were vainly looked upon as its conquerors, were obliged to re-assure, to flatter, to offer it guarantees, and to hold forth hopes!

The night which followed the arrival of the Count of Artois in Paris was marked at Fontainebleau by an event of which time has not yet unveiled the mystery. An unusual agitation was perceived in the palace; the servants of Napoleon hastened to his chamber and seemed a prey to the utmost alarm; the physicians were sent for, his faithful friends Bertrand, Caulaincourt and Maret were awoken. The Emperor, who had obstinately refused to sign the treaty of the 11th April, and whose conversation had caused some sinister design to be apprehended, especially since he had learnt that they had refused permission to his wife and son to rejoin him, experienced such violent inward pains, that it was believed he had poisoned himself. However, the application of remedies which were eagerly offered him, presently cured the illustrious patient. The writers, who are inclined to believe in an attempt at suicide, pretend that he then said: "God does not wish it!" But persons in the service of the Emperor, some of whom followed him every where, have declared that the poignant sufferings of Napoleon, during this mysterious night, were but the natural result of the moral crisis which he had awaited for more than ten days, and have wholly rejected the idea of an attempt at poisoning. It is said that the Duke of Bassano rendered a similar testimony.

However it may have been, the Emperor allowed nothing to appear of what he had suffered during the night. His levée passed as usual; only that he appeared more resigned than on the preceding evening, for he demanded the treaty

which he had hitherto rejected, and affixed his signature to it.

Maria Louisa, who had received the visits of the sovereigns of Austria and Russia at Rambouillet, and who had been interdicted from proceeding to Fontainebleau, waited but to learn the departure of her husband, to allow herself sorrowfully to be conducted to Vienna, with the young prince whose destiny the Emperor Francis, his august grand-father, had just contributed to destroy. All was ended at once with Napoleon, the noble enjoyments of political grandeur, and the sweet consolations of private life. The island of Elba could be but a narrow prison for him; nevertheless, he submitted to the necessity which imposed it on him as a residence. In vain did Colonel Montholon assure him of the devotion of the troops, and of the population in the Eastern departments, in order again to encourage him to try the fate of arms: "It is too late," he replied, "at present it would only be civil war, and nothing could make me decide upon it." The last cannon-shot indeed had been fired, on the 10th April, at the battle of Toulouse, by Marshal Soult, who knew not of the events of Paris and Fontainebleau, and who placed the stamp of glory on the last page of the Imperial immortal campaigns.

The allied powers had appointed commissaries to conduct Napoleon to the island of Elba. The departure was fixed for the 20th April. On the night preceding this departure, Constant, the valet-de-chambre, and the Mameluke Roustan, imitated the grand dignitaries of the Empire, and abandoned their master.

On the 20th, at mid-day, the Emperor descended into the court *du Cheval Blanc*, which was lined by the Imperial Guard. There were but a few adherents left, amongst whom stood forth prominently, the Duke of Bassano and General Belliard. At his approach, the hearts of the soldiers bounded, and their eyes filled with tears. The Emperor announced by a gesture that he would speak, and immediately there was a religious silence, in order that every one might

hear and gather the last words of the great man to his chosen warriors.

"Generals, officers, subalterns, and soldiers of my old guard," said he, "I bid you farewell: for twenty years I have been pleased with you; I have always found you on the road to glory.

"The allied powers have armed all Europe against me; a portion of that army has betrayed its duties, and France herself has desired other destinies.

"With you and the brave men who have been true to me, I could have maintained a civil war for three years; but France would have been unhappy; and this had been contrary to the object I had proposed to myself.

"Be faithful to the new king whom France has chosen; never abandon our dear country, too long unhappy! Always love, always love this dear country well.

"Do not pity my fate; I shall be always happy, if I know that you are so.

"I could have died; nothing had been easier for me; but I ever pursue the path of honour. I have yet to write that which we have done.

"I cannot embrace you all; but I will embrace your general. . . . Come, General. . . . (He folded General Petit in his arms). Let them bring me the eagle. . . . (He kissed it). Dear eagle! may these kisses resound in the heart of every brave man! . . . Adieu, my children! . . . My wishes will always accompany you; retain me in your memories."

At these words the sobs of the soldiers broke forth; all surrounding the Emperor were bathed in tears, and himself, not less moved, tore himself from this heart-rending scene, by flinging himself into a carriage where General Bertrand had already seated himself. The signal for starting was immediately given. Napoleon left Fontainebleau, accompanied by the grand marshal, by Generals Drouot and Cambrone, and a few others, who desired to associate themselves with the fidelity



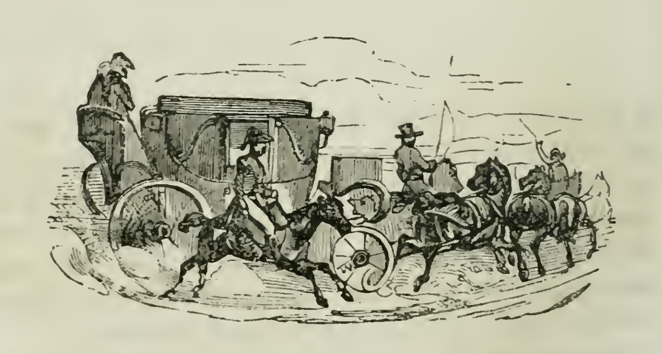
of these brave warriors. Everywhere, on the road, even to the confines of Provence, he heard around his carriage, the cries of 'Live the Emperor!' This constancy of the people moved and consoled him. He then comprehended that, despite the unpopular tendency of certain acts which might have contributed to his fall, the Bourbons would not succeed in abolishing in France the veneration of his name.

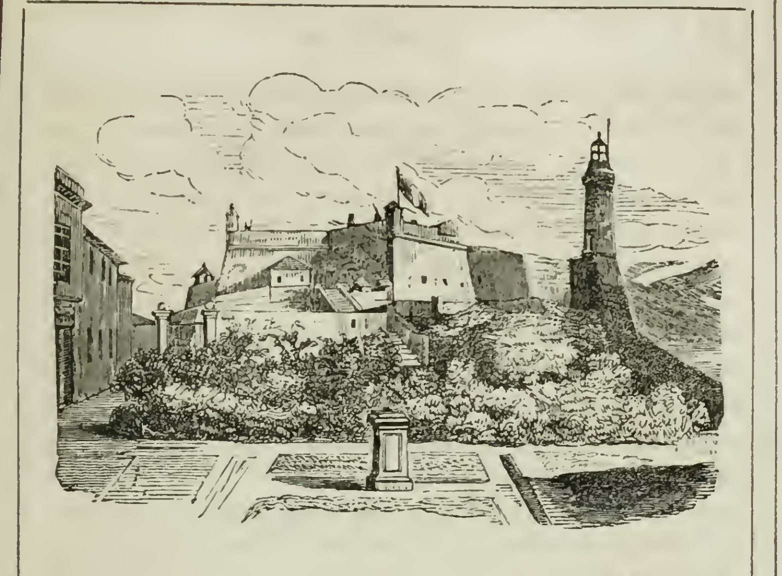
Between Lyons and Valence, the Emperor met Marshal Augereau, who had just reproached him in a proclamation with "not having known how to die as a soldier." Napoleon, who was unaware of the ignoble and ridiculous insult of his comrade of Arcola, descended from his carriage to embrace

him. Whilst conversing, he held his hat in his hand; the marshal, however, affected to remain covered, and kept his travelling cap on his head during the whole of the interview, and even at the moment of bidding farewell. An hour after, Napoleon met with several detachments of Augereau's *corps* on the road, who rendered him the same honours as though he had been on the throne. The soldiers shouted to him: "Sire, Marshal Augereau has sold your army."

The Emperor was forced to avoid Avignon, where the wretches who a year later caused Marshal Brune to be assassinated, had organized a plot and provoked a fermentation in the public mind, which led to some sinister designs being apprehended.

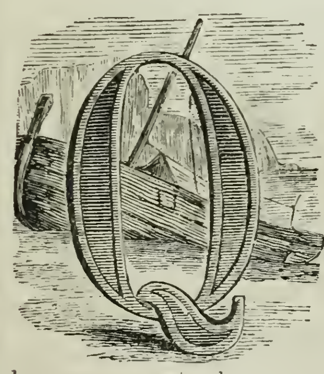
In the evening of the 26th, he arrived near Luc, and slept at the house of a deputy to the Legislative Body, where he met with the Princess Pauline. The next day, he was at Frejus; and after a sojourn of twenty-four hours in this town, embarked at eight o'clock in the evening for the Island of Elba.





CHAPTER XXI.

Arrival at Porto Ferrajo. Sojourn in the Island of Elba. Return to France Disembarcation at Cannes. Triumphal march on Paris, 20th March, 1815.



UITTING yet for another moment the course of the history, let us observe these portions of the life of the hero which are most striking from their contrast. Frejus had seen him disembark, on his return from Egypt, when, escorted by Marmont, Murat, Berthier, etc., he came to win the supreme power from the representatives of France, aud lay down the foundation of a vast and powerful empire; it was to Frejus, that fifteen years later he returned, despoiled of his power by the stranger of whom he was the

admiration and the terror; and by the mute and docile bodies which he had appointed successors to the stormy assemblages of the Republic; it was at Frejus, that he this time embarked, not to take the helm of a great state, and strive to raise for his advantage the first throne in the universe, but fallen from this throne and repulsed from this government by the same senate which had so long lavished on him, even to satiety, the most base adulations, and by this same legislative body which three months previously he had driven from him with opprobrium; but betrayed or deserted by his old comrades and relations, betrayed by Marmont and Murat, deserted by Berthier and so many others! . . . God, who does nothing in vain, had so willed it! Let us bow to his all-seeing wisdom!

Napoleon anchored in the roads of Porto-Ferrajo, on the 3rd May, on the same day that Louis XVIII. arrived at Paris. The authorities of the Island of Elba hastened to compliment



their sovereign, on board the English frigate which had brought him. On the following day the Emperor landed,

and was saluted by a hundred and one discharges of cannon. All the population, having at its head the municipality and the clergy, went to meet him.

"It was," says an eye-witness, "a curious and touching spectacle for the Emperor and his suite, to witness the unfeigned joy of the young Elbans, and the enthusiasm of these simple fishermen, who, for a long time, delighted in persuading the French soldiers to relate to them many of the striking exploits and memorable victories, with which the name of Napoleon was always associated. His renown, and reverses were equally imposing. The calm, the gaiety even with which the Emperor questioned the humblest citizens contributed to increase the enthusiasm."

Napoleon occupied himself with the administration of the Island of Elba, as though he had seriously intended to reign there for a lengthened period; as if the activity of his genius must not have felt itself speedily shackled within the limits of so narrow a sovereignty. He studied the productions of the soil and the resources of industry, went over every part of the island, and prepared throughout important ameliorations.

On the 26th May, Cambrone arrived with the brave soldiers of the old guard who had desired to share the exile of the Emperor. Shortly after, the Princess Pauline and Madame Lætitia repaired to Napoleon, whom they would not again quit.

Napoleon impatiently awaited news from France. As formerly, when he perused, on the banks of the Nile, the European journals with the greatest avidity, in order to see if the moment had not arrived to cross the sea and overthrow the Directory, in like manner did he now consult the public prints, or his private correspondence, to know how the French nation bore with the strangers and the Bourbons, and how the Bourbons and the strangers conducted themselves towards the French nation. As for the daily insults of which he was the object in all the papers, he was careless of them. "Am I much cut up?" he one day said to General Bertrand,



who brought him the French journals. "No, sire," replied the grand marshal, "there is no question to-day of your majesty."—"Ah! well" he replied, "it will be for to-morrow; it is an intermittent fever."

However, the government which the coalition had imposed upon France, shewed itself worthy of its origin. The promises of the Count of Artois remained without effect; Louis XVIII. founded his charter on the good pleasure of the right divine. The nobility again became insolent, and the clergy intolerant. All the favours of power were showered upon the emigrants, its hatred and disdain fell on the old army. Cadoudal was ennobled, Moreau was exalted, a statue reserved for Pichegru, and the faithful warriors of France overwhelmed with insults and humiliations. All the great things which the great people had done, under the Republic and the Empire, were suppressed in history, or only appeared defiled by usurpation and revolt, whence they were said to be derived; the prince who had lived obscurely with the enemies of France, whilst the arms of

his countrymen triumphed at Fleurus, Lodi, Marengo, and Austerlitz, pretended to have reigned over France at the time of Austerlitz and Marengo, and dated his acts from the nineteenth year of his reign. The press, which might have combatted the false doctrines, resisted the fatal tendencies and shaken the odious acts; the press, scarcely proclaimed free, was rigorously watched, and censors appointed in spite of the charter; thus was it endeavoured to convince France that to *repress* and *prevent* were words of the same signification.

The Emperor, even at the moment of his abdication, had foreseen the faults of the Bourbons and thought of the possibility of his return. The *Mémorial* gives us the ideas which crossed his mind, and the true explanation of the bold design which he was shortly to execute. It is Napoleon himself who speaks, referring to the last days he spent at Fontainebleau.

"'If the Bourbons,' I said to myself "wish to commence a fifth dynasty, I have nothing further to do here, my part is ended; but if, perchance, they obstinately persist in continuing the third, I shall not be long in reappearing. It might be said that the Bourbons had my memory and conduct at their disposal: if they had been contented with being the magistrates of a great nation, if they had so willed it, I should have remained for the vulgar, an ambitious man, a tyrant, a nuisance, a scourge. What sagacity, what coolness, had been required to appreciate and render me justice. But they have determined on again becoming feudal lords, they have preferred being the odious leaders of a party odious to the whole nation.'"

If it had been said of Napoleon, in 1814, that he had remade the bed of the Bourbons, in their turn, they were about to re-open for him the path to the throne. As soon as Napoleon became thoroughly acquainted with the situation of France, and was advised of the fate reserved for him by the congress of Vienna, he hesitated no longer, and his resolution was soon taken. Much has been said of his understandings in France and Italy, of his emissaries, of his correspondents, of his

accomplices; for it was striven to attribute his departure from the Island of Elba to a plot. It is now certain, however, that his conspiracy was confined to himself, that he consulted no one as to his projects, and that on the evening preceding his departure every one was ignorant of it at Porto-Ferrajo, with the exception of Drouot and Bertrand.



It was on the 26th February, 1815, at one o'clock in the afternoon, that Napoleon bade his guard prepare for their departure. The greatest enthusiasm was immediately manifested by these brave men, whose ardour and devotion were increased by the mother and sister of the Emperor, who were stationed at the windows of the palace. On all sides nothing was heard but the cry: "Paris or death!"

A proclamation shortly made the official announcement to the inhabitants of the Island of Elba that the Emperor Napoleon was about leaving them. "Our august sovereign," said the governor (General Lapi), "recalled by Providence to the career of glory, is forced to leave your island, he has entrusted the command thereof to me; the administration, to a junta of six of the inhabitants, and the defence of the fortress to your devotion and bravery."

"I leave the Island of Elba," said Napoleon, "extremely satisfied with the conduct of its inhabitants; I confide to them the defence of this country, to which I attach the greatest importance; I cannot give them a greater proof of my confidence than by leaving my mother and sister to their care; the members of the junta and all the inhabitants of the island may rely on my good-will and especial protection."

By four o'clock in the evening the four hundred men of the old guard were on board the brig Inconstant; five other small vessels received two hundred light infantry, a hundred Polish light-horse, and a battalion of *flanquers*. At eight o'clock in the evening, the Emperor, accompanied by Generals Bertrand and Drouot, embarked in the Inconstant. A gun gave the signal of departure, and the flotilla set sail.

The wind, at first favourable, became suddenly contrary, and drove the vessels back towards the island. It was proposed to re-enter Porto-Ferrajo, but the Emperor refused. During the passage he occupied himself in dictating proclamations to the people and the army, which were eagerly copied by the soldiers. It was not until three o'clock on the 1st March that he entered the Gulf of Juan. Before disembarking, he dismounted the cockade of Elba, and adopted the *tricolor;* his soldiers imitated his example with loud shouts of "Vive l'Empereur! Vive la France!" A landing was immediately effected at the port of Cannes; the Emperor being the last to go on shore. Whilst his staff busied themselves with the encampment of the little troop, and prepared a

bivouac on the sea-shore, he walked forward unaccompanied, to question the peasants. Towards one o'clock in the morning, thê bivouac was broken up, and Napoleon marched at the head of his noble phalanx, in the direction of Grasse. As he proceeded part of the way on foot, he stumbled and fell several times. One of his soldiers seeing him rise unruffled, said to his comrades: Well done! *Jean de 'lépée,* (this was the name by which they familiarly designated Napoleon amongst themselves) must not hurt himself to day, he must first be *Jean de Paris*!"

"On the 4th March, the Emperor arrived at Digne, where he caused the proclamations which he had dictated on board the Inconstant, and which were destined to excite the patriotism of the people and the army, to be printed. Annexed are these two remarkable compositions, dated from the Gulf of Juan, on the 1st March, in which Napoleon had displayed all the force and grandeur of his magical style.

PROCLAMATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"Frenchmen! the defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered Lyons without defence to our enemies. The army entrusted to his command was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops of which it was composed, in a position to defeat the Austrian *corps* opposed to it; and to attack the rear of the left flank of the army which threatened Paris.

"The victories of Champaubert, Montmirail, Chateau-Thierry, Vauchamp, Mormans, Montereau, Craonne, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, and St. Dizier, the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, Champagne, Alsace, Franche-Compté, and Burgundy, and the position which I had taken in the rear of the hostile army, by separating it from its magazines, parks of reserve, convoys, and equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy seemed lost without resource; it had found a tomb in those vast plains which it

had so remorselessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa surrendered the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected misconduct of the two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the fate of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the close of the action which took place before Paris, he was without ammunition, in consequence of being separated from his parks of reserve.

"In these new and distressing circumstances, my heart was lacerated, but my soul remained immoveable. I consulted only the interest of the country: I exiled myself to a rock in the midst of the sea. My life was yours, and was preserved to be useful to you. I would not permit the great number of citizens who wished to accompany me, to share my lot; I believed their presence useful to France, and took with me but a handful of brave men sufficient for my protection.

"Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. During twenty-five years, France has acquired new interests, new institutions, a new glory, which can only be guaranteed by a national government, and by a dynasty founded under the new circumstances which have arisen. The prince reigning over you, who has been seated on my throne by the power of the same arms which have ravaged our territory, has sought to restore the principles of feudal law; he has only secured the honour and the rights of a small number of individuals, enemies to the people, who, during five and twenty years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your internal tranquillity, and external consideration, would thus have been lost for ever.

"Frenchmen! in my exile, I have heard your complaints and wishes; you reclaimed the government of your choice, which alone is legitimate: you accused my long slumber; you reproached me with sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

"I have crossed the seas, amid perils of every kind, and

have arrived amongst you to demand the restoration of my rights, which are also yours. Of what has been done, written, or said by individuals since the capture of Paris, I shall always be ignorant; it will have no influence on the memory which I cherish of the important services they formerly rendered; for events have been of such a nature as to have risen above human organization.

"Frenchmen! there is no nation, however small, which has not the right to withdraw, and would not have withdrawn from the dishonour of obeying a prince imposed by an enemy in the moment of victory. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V., he wore his crown by the valour of his followers, and not by permission of a prince regent of England.

"It is also to you alone and the brave soldiers of the army that I attribute, and shall always continue to attribute the glory of owing everything."

PROCLAMATION TO THE ARMY.

"Soldiers! we have not been vanquished. Two men, sprung from our ranks, betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

"Those whom we have seen for five and twenty years traversing all Europe to raise enemies against us, who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, and in venting execrations on our beautiful France, shall they pretend to command or enchain our eagles, who could never sustain their glances? Shall we suffer them to inherit the fruit of our glorious toils? to possess themselves of our honours, our fortunes, while they calumniate our glory? If their reign were to continue, all would be lost, even the memory of our immortal achievements!

"With what fury do they misrepresent and seek to tarnish that which the world admires! and if there still remain defenders

of our glory, they are to be found among the very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

"Soldiers! in my exile I have heard your voice; I have arrived in spite of all obstacles and perils.

"Your General, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and raised on your shields, is restored to you; come and join him.

"Cast down these colours, which nature has proscribed, and which, during twenty-five years, served as a rallying point to all the enemies of France; mount the tricoloured cockade; you wore it on our great days!

"We must forget that we have been the masters of nations; but we ought not to suffer any foreign interference in our affairs. Who has the power to do so? Resume those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudella, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at the Moskowa, at Lutzen, at Wurtchen, at Montmirail. Think you that this handful of Frenchmen, at present so arrogant, will have courage to regard them? They will return whence they came, and there, if they will, they shall reign as they pretend to have reigned for nineteen years.

"Your fortunes, your rank, your glory, the fortunes, ranks, and glory of your children, have no greater enemies than the princes imposed on you by foreigners; they are the enemies of our glory, since the recital of so many heroic actions, by which the French nation has been rendered illustrious, fighting against them to rid themselves of their yoke, is their condemnation.

"The veterans of the army of the Sombre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the Grand Army are humiliated; their honourable scars are disgraced; their successes would be crimes, those brave men would be rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were always in the midst of the foreign armies. Honours, recompenses, and favours are reserved for

those who have served against the country and against us.

"Soldiers, come and range yourselves under the banners of your chief. His existence is identified with yours; his rights are yours and those of the people; his interest, his honour, his glory, are your interest, honour, and glory. Victory shall march at the charging step; the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple till it alights on the towers of Nôtre Dame. Then you will be able to shew your scars with honour; then may you boast of what you have done: you will be the liberators of your country.

"In your old age, surrounded and honoured by your fellow citizens, they will listen with respect, while you recount your high deeds; while you exclaim, with pride, "And I also made one of that Grand Army, which twice entered within the walls of Vienna, within those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Lisbon, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the stain imprinted on it by treason and the presence of the enemy. Honour to those brave soldiers, the glory of their country! and eternal infamy to the French criminals, in whatever rank they were born, who, for twenty-five, years, fought beside foreigners, tearing open the bosom of their country!"

This language announced to new France that her glorious interpreter was restored, and that the democracy had again found its representative and its hero; the people and the army, therefore, hastened in concert to meet the illustrious exile.

Napoleon arrived at Gap, on the 5th March, where he was received with the same demonstrations of joy that had burst forth every where on the road. After the attempts of the counter-revolution which had marked the return, the ephemeral reign of Louis XVIII., the inhabitants of Dauphiny, who were profoundly attached to the Revolution, saluted with transport the liberating genius who came to the succour of equality, so long defended by him, and now menaced by the Bourbons.

Napoleon quitted the chief place of the Upper Alps, followed by the acclamations of the entire population. At St. Bonnet, the inhabitants offered to sound the tocsin, and raise a levy *en masse*, in order to reinforce his escort, which they believed too feeble to conduct him to Paris, through the midst of the numerous garrisons stationed on the road. "No," he replied to them; "your sentiments convince me that I have not been deceived; they are to me a sure guarantee of the sentiments of my soldiers; those whom I shall meet, will range themselves by my side; the more numerous they may be, the more my success will be assured; rest tranquil, therefore, in your homes."

The proof had been made in respect to the people; Napoleon had not presumed too much on the ascendant of his genius and his name. The army of which he considered himself more sure than of the people, remained, and he had not yet encountered it. But he approached Grenoble, and some hostile demonstration on the part of the authorities and the military commandant was to be expected. General Marchand indeed had detached a battalion of the 5th regiment of the line on the road to Lamure, with orders to arrest the passage of Napoleon. The Emperor's advanced guard met this detachment near Lafrète, and could not determine it to open its ranks and join the flag of the ancient army. One of General Marchand's officers, a colonel, who led the party, restrained the soldiers by the empire of discipline. As soon as Napoleon was made aware of this, he proceeded to the advance-guard, dismounted, and marched in front of the battalion, which threatened to give a fatal example to the rest of the army. His guard followed with their arms reversed, in order to indicate their intention of attempting nothing by force. "What! my friends," he exclaimed, "do you not recognize me; I am your Emperor; if there is a soldier among you who would kill his general, his Emperor, let him do so; I am here!" In pronouncing these last words, he bared his chest. The officer

in command wished to seize this moment to bid them fire; but his voice was immediately drowned by the cries of '*Vive l'Empereur*,' the enthusiastic words met with a thousand echoes, from the peasants on the hills; and in an instant the battalion of the 5th, the sappers and miners were confounded with the brave men from the island of Elba, whom they embraced as brothers. Some polish lancers pursued the hostile colonel beyond the Vizille, who was indebted for his safety to the speed of his horse. The Emperor then continued his march towards Grenoble, in the midst of the crowd, which was each momont augmenting. Napoleon related at St. Helena, that, in one of the valleys of Dauphiny, he beheld



issue from the immense crowd which rushed after him, a tall soldier weeping for joy and holding in his arms an old man of ninety years. It was a grenadier from Elba, whose disappear-



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ance had caused his fidelity to be suspected. He had only separated from his brothers in arms to seek out his father whom he wished to present to the Emperor.

Arrived at Vizille, Napoleon found the enthusiasm of the population of Dauphiny constantly on the increase. "It was here that the Revolution took its rise," was exclaimed on all sides; "it was here that our fathers were the first to claim the privileges of freemen; it is here that French liberty is resuscitated, and that France recovers her honour and her independence."

The Emperor, on passing the castle of the Dauphins, where the first patriotic assembly was held, in 1788, could not help associating his reflections with the crowd, and in his turn exclaimed, with the emotion of a man, in whom there was some coincidence with the stirring period invoked by the inhabitants of Dauphiny, and the critical and solemn position in which the democracy again found itself in the person of its representative: "Yes, thence issued the French Revolution!"

It is there also, he may be imagined inwardly to exclaim, that the French Revolution shall obtain a fresh triumph over the *ancien régime;* for it is there that success will be assured to my bold enterprise.

Indeed, whilst the Emperor yielded to his presentiments, and his mind was buried in meditation on the general intoxication which his presence everywhere produced upon the population of Dauphiny, an officer of the 7th regiment of the line pushed through the crowd, and announced to Napoleon that his regiment, headed by the colonel, was advancing at full speed to salute the hero of France. Always calm in appearance, as at all the remarkable periods of his life, Napoleon, nevertheless, exhibited on his features the impression which an event made upon him that was to conduct him to the Tuileries. His physiognomy suddenly freed from the sombre tint which fatigue of body and worry of mind had hitherto contributed to give it, became radiant with hope and joy. After having

evinced to the officer of the 7th all that he felt for this regiment and for the chief who commanded it, he gave spurs to his horse, and rode forward as though he had already been in sight of the triumphal arch of the Place du Carrousel. Presently the shouts of the 7th, joined those of the multitude which accompanied him. The colonel marched first with rapid steps; he was a man of tall stature and fine figure. His noble character, affectionate heart, and chivalric manners, had given him power over the mind of the soldier and the officer. He marched out of Grenoble, at three o'clock in the afternoon, on the 7th March, and a few hundred yards from the town ordered the drums to cease beating, commanded a halt, and had a case broken open whence an eagle was produced, which he immediately exhibited to the soldiers, exclaiming: "Behold the glorious sign which conducted you in our great days! He who so often led us on to victory, is advancing towards us, to avenge our humiliation and our reverses; it is time to fly beneath his flag which never ceased to be ours. Let those who love me, follow! *Vive l' Empereur!*" The soldiers, who with difficulty restrained the explosion of their sentiments, whilst the colonel spoke, burst forth, at the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and repeated the cry of their chief, with transports of delirious joy. A considerable crowd of individuals of all ages, sexes, and conditions followed, and now approached with them, to salute also with their acclamations, he in whom the principle of equality and the glory of the nation had been so long embodied. The impatience on either side, shortened the distance; the acclamations already joined. The brothers in arms, whom the events of 1814 had separated, were now re-united and embracing each other with cries of "*Vive la garde vive le 7e! vive l'Empereur!*" and the inhabitants of Grenoble, who had come forth to meet the most illustrious of conquerors, mixed their joyous transports with those of the mountaineers, who had descended from their steep rocks to follow the great man. However, the brilliant and

intrepid Colonel of the 7th, the noble and valorous Labédoyère, succeeded in penetrating the crowd, and threw himself into the arms of the Emperor. Napoleon pressed him eagerly to his heart, and said with emotion: "Colonel, you replace me on the throne."

The Emperor arrived, at night, beneath the walls of Grenoble. His presence was soon indicated to the inhabitants and the garrison, by the noisy and tumultuous hurry of which he was the object, and which the obscurity did not hinder them distinguishing. Many citizens and soldiers, deceiving the foresight of the lieutenant-general, who had given orders to close the gates, and himself taken possession of the keys, descended immediately by the ramparts and ran to increase the train of the hero. Suddenly the sound of arms was heard within the place; it was imagined that the artillery-men were about to fire, and the crowd ran for shelter from the shower, behind the neighbouring houses. Napoleon, inaccessible to fear, remained motionless on the bridge in front of the batteries; his calm attitude produced a speedy re-action on the mind of the multitude. "The Emperor is careless of his life," exclaimed a citizen, "and we, we seek to preserve ours!" saying which he sprang to the side of the immortal warrior who had familiarised so many brave men with the cannon's mouth. This example brought back the crowd around the great man.

Napoleon, however, wished to know the nature of the movement which he had remarked on the ramparts. He ordered Labédoyère to approach and harangue the artillery-men. The colonel then mounted a hillock and cried with a loud voice: "Soldiers, we bring you back the hero whom you have followed in so many battles; it is for you to receive him, and repeat with us the old rallying cry of "*Vive l' Empereur!*" The gunners, whom discipline alone had retained at their posts, did not let him wait for their reponse. "*Vive l' Empereur!*" they unanimously exclaimed, and all who surrounded



them, military or civilians, joined with them, in prolonging the exulting shout which Labédoyère had provoked.

But in the midst of the joyous uproar within and without the town, Napoleon became weary of seeing the gates closed. The hand was offered him through the bars, as the *Mémorial* expresses it, but they did not open to him. The working population of the suburbs, impatient to introduce the Emperor within the walls of Grenoble, provided themselves with beams. The gate of Bonne soon fell beneath the redoubled blows of these novel machines of war, imagined by the devotion of the labouring classes; and the besieged gave vent to shouts of victory, scarcely to be equalled by the besiegers.

"In no battle did the Emperor run more dangers than in entering Grenoble," says Las Cases; "the soldiers rushed upon him

with all the gestures of fury and rage; the spectators shuddered for a moment, almost imagining he would be torn to pieces; it was but the delirium of love and joy; he was carried away, himself and his horse."

The proclamations of the Gulf of Juan were reprinted at Grenoble, and profusely distributed. The Emperor remained two days in this town, and during his stay passed in review the troops and the national guard, and received the visits of the authorities, of the academical bodies and of the clergy.

At the review, Napoleon, decked with his little hat, and clothed in the famous grey coat, approached the artillery-men of the 4th regiment and said to them:

"It was amongst you that I achieved my first feats in arms; I love you all as old comrades; I have followed you on the field of battle, and have always been satisfied with you; but I hope we shall have no need of your cannons."

Napoleon quitted Grenoble on the 9th March, and arrived the following day at Lyons, at the very moment when the Count of Artois, after useless efforts to determine the soldiers to defend the cause of the Bourbons, had departed, being completely abandoned, under the escort of a single royal volunteer. The Emperor caused the cross of the Legion of Honour to be given to this loyal servant of his enemies, as a reward for his fidelity.

Being more and more persuaded that it was to the democracy, and to the universal opinion which regarded him as the soul of the Revolution, he must attribute the joyous reception he met with from the citizens and country-people, Napoleon, reserving to moderate later this great democratic movement, beheld himself necessitated to make concessions to the liberal opinion thinking truly that it would be this, after all, as much as the enthusiasm of the soldier, which would conduct him triumphantly to Paris. On the 13th March, therefore, he published several decrees in order to annul all the anti-revolutionary acts of the royal government, and restored the laws of the constituent assembly,

abolishing the ancient nobility and the orders of chivalry. A final decree afterwards pronounced the dissolution of the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies, and convoked all the electoral colleges of the Empire, at Paris, in order there to form an assembly of *Champ de Mai* and busy themselves with the revision of the Imperial constitutions.

The Emperor took the road to Burgundy, where an enthusiastic and no less sympathetic a population awaited him, as that of Dauphiny. But whilst he traversed France, borne by the rejoicing citizens, and in the midst of universal acclamations, to the capital, according to his own expressions, the Bourbons endeavoured to set a price on his head, and the congress of Vienna called anew all Europe to arms, in order to arrest his progress. In support of these extreme measures, the Parisian and foreign press, gave vent to the spite and fury of the ancient royalty and the aristocracy, and treated as a miserable adventurer, whom prompt chastisement would attain, the great man whom a whole people received as its liberator. These absurd libels, accompanied by the grossest lies, did not hinder Napoleon, whom the mercenary gazettes represented as constantly flying before the princes of the royal family, from daily approaching nearer to Paris. On the 13th March, he slept at Macon, whilst Marshal Ney declared for him at Lons le Saulnier, in a proclamation commencing with these words: "The cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost!" On the 14th, he was at Chalons, where he complimented the inhabitants on the noble resistance they had opposed to the enemy in the last war. He wished in the same manner to eulogize those of St. Jean de Losne, who had evinced the same patriotism; but this town not being on his route, he confined himself to sending the decoration of the Legion of Honour to its worthy mayor. On this occasion, he said to the peasants and labourers who formed the greater part of his immense train: "It is for you, brave men, that I have instituted the Legion of Honour, and not for emigrants pensioned by our enemies."

On the 15th, Napoleon was at Autun, always surrounded by the same acclamations. On the same day, the two Chambers, instituted by the Charter, met at Paris, by virtue of an extraordinary convocation, consequent upon the disembarkation of the Emperor. Louis XVIII. and the princes of his family, overwhelmed with stupor at the approach of the illustrious exile, whose head they had in vain demanded, dissimulated their anti-revolutionary dispositions, and prepared to renew their oaths to the Charter. This solemn demonstration did not restore them the confidence of the constitutional royalists whom the re-actionary tendency of the government



had quickly undeceived, and it was only regarded as a symptom of fear, by the mass of the nation, who made it a subject of derision.

The Emperor still continued his rapid march towards Paris. in spite of the military measures, the official hypocricies and homicidical orders, on which they had counted for arresting his triumphal course. On the 17th March, he made his entry into Auxerre, where the 14th regiment of the line had arrived, from Orleans, to meet him. This body had fought for a long time in Spain, and distinguished itself there, without obtaining recompenses proportionate to its services. The Emperor distributed decorations to the officers and soldiers, who were indicated to him as being the most worthy thereof.

It was at Auxerre that Marshal Ney rejoined the Emperor. The bravest of the brave came to crown the work of Labédoyère. His presence completed the wishes and hopes of Napoleon.

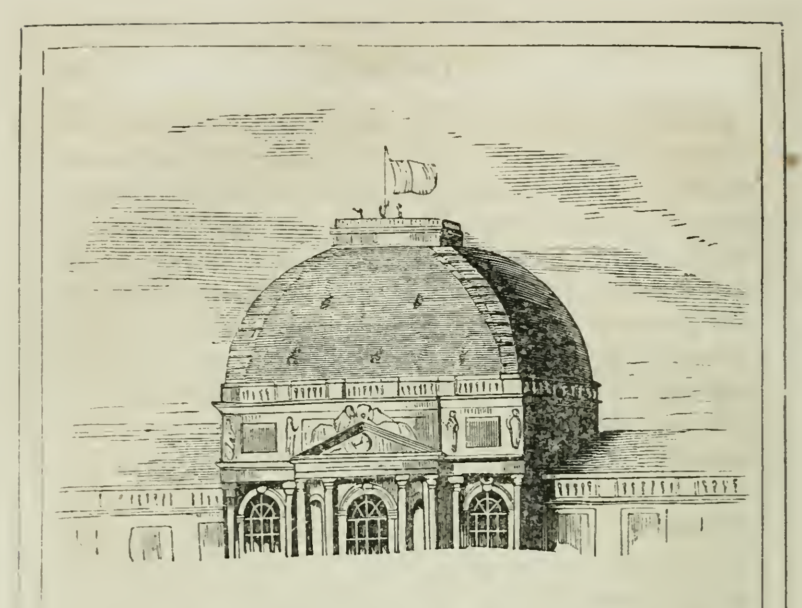
The royal government was hard run. It demanded of the Chambers to save it by laws suited to the emergency; and forced the pride of the great to humble itself even so far as to caress the soldiers in their barracks. Needless shuffling! vain humiliations! The Chambers were without authority over the nation, and the princes without influence over the soldier, who only replied to their supplications by refusals often joined with bitter speeches. Nothing could stay Napoleon.

On the 19th March, he left Auxerre, and arrived at Fontainebleau on the 20th at four o'clock in the morning. On the same night Louis XVIII. had abandoned the capital to gain the Belgian frontier with all speed. If the progress of the Emperor, from the Gulf of Juan to Paris, had been but a triumphal march, the retreat of the king, from Paris to Ghent, was but a flight. The Bourbons had deceived themselves as to the causes and the character of the fall of Napoleon. They had believed and proclaimed that He who disposes of thrones and empires had marked with His divine stamp the overthrow of the Imperial dominion in order to terminate, in France, the reign of that which they called impiety and revolt; they incessantly repeated that, it was the

spirit of the age, modern philosophy, the Revolution, that Providence had determined to humble, and which it had struck in Napoleon. Providence, the regards of which are turned from the past and fixed on the future, and which gives rise to and carries out all revolutions, in order to regenerate nations and not to restore kings; Providence, which had not withdrawn its protection from the great man whom it had so highly favoured, save to punish him for having too nearly approached the ideas of men of the ancient society; Providence was about to manifest its intentions in the most striking manner, and undeceive, by some great event, the princes who had thus suffered themselves to misunderstand its immutable designs. It therefore, permitted the monarch whom it had overthrown, suddenly to rise up again, and come to resume the sceptre as if by enchantment, not to re-establish and consolidate his dynasty, but in order to testify to the world the supreme power of the Revolution and the weakness of the *ancien régime.*

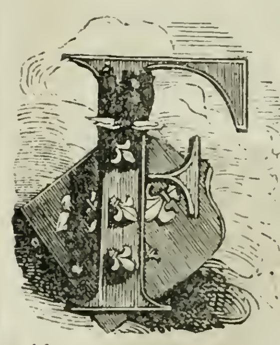
Evidence of this was now given. The divine right, come from a foreign country, returned there with the Bourbons, who participated in its humiliating flight; and the sovereignty of the people returned triumphantly, with Napoleon, to the Tuileries.





CHAPTER XXII.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.



FONTAINEBLEAU, on the day of the 20th April, 1814, had seen the Emperor fallen, abandoned by his old comrades, separate himself from his guard, to allow himself to be conducted prisoner to the Island of Elba; on the 20th March, 1815, Fontainebleau again beheld Napoleon, in the midst of his guard, surrounded by the sacred battalion, followed by the acclamations of the people and the army, and prepared to depart for his capital, where he was about to resume the sovereign power, which had been awarded him for the second time by the wishes of the nation.

Towards evening the Emperor arrived at the gates of Paris. The tricolor had floated on the Tuileries since two o'clock in the afternoon: the brave Excelmans had hoisted it.

The people and the army pressed around Napoleon, threw themselves upon him as at Grenoble, and struggled to be nearest him. When he entered the Tuileries, towards nine o'clock in the evening, he was received by a crowd of officers, who rushed upon him with such eagerness and enthusiasm, that he was forced to exclaim! "Gentlemen, you stifle me." M. de Montalivet, who had served him with skill and devotion in prosperity, and who had remained faithful to him in misfortune, came to meet him at the foot of the grand staircase, and fell into his arms. The Emperor was in a manner carried into his apartments, where Queen Hortense awaited him with a great many of the ancient dignitaries of the Empire.

The sacred battalion bivouacked on the Place Carrousel, and did duty at the palace, jointly with the national guard.

The following day, the Emperor passed in review all the troops then contained in the capital. "Soldiers, he said to them, "I came into France with nine hundred men because I relied on the love of the people, and the recollections of the old soldiers. I have not been deceived in my expectations! Soldiers! I thank you for it. The glory of that which we have done appertains to the people and to you! Mine consists in having known and appreciated you.

"Soldiers! the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, since it had been raised by foreign hands, since it had been proscribed by the wish of the nation expressed in our national assemblies; finally, since it guaranteed alone the interests of a small number of arrogant men, whose pretensions are opposed to our rights. Soldiers! the Imperial throne can alone secure the rights of the people, and especially its greatest interest, that of our glory.

"Soldiers! we are about to march in order to drive from the territory these auxiliary princes of the stranger; the nation

will not alone second us with its vows, but will follow our impulse. The French people and myself rely upon you. We do not wish to interfere with the affairs of foreign nations, but woe to those who meddle with ours!"

The soldiers received this speech with the same enthusiasm the words of Napoleon had ever inspired, and the air resounded with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" when the battalion from the island of Elba appeared, commanded by Cambrone, and which had not been able to reach Paris so soon as the Emperor. At this sight, Napoleon exclaimed: "Behold the officers of the battalion which accompanied me in my misfortune. They are all my friends. They were dear to my heart! each time that I beheld them, they represented to me the different regiments of the army; for, in these six hundred brave soldiers, there are men from all regiments. All remind me of those days the memory of which is so dear, for all are covered with honourable scars received in these memorable battles. Soldiers of the French army, in loving them, I loved you all. They bring you the eagles! May they serve you as a rallying point! In giving them to the guard, I give them to the whole army.

"Treason and unfortunate circumstances had decked them with a funereal veil; but thanks to the French people and to you, they re-appear resplendent in all their glory. Swear that they shall always be found wherever the interest of the country calls them; may traitors and those wno wish to invade our territory be unable to endure their regards!"

The soldiers replied: "We swear!" Then defiling before the Emperor, the band struck up the revolutionary air: *Veillons au salut de l'empire*

Napoleon seemed to have returned to the time of the consulate; misfortune and the Bourbons had reconciled him with democracy, which had more than once attempted his disgrace under the empire. In order to render this reconciliation more apparent, he gave the ministership of the interior to Carnot,

and called Benjamin Constant to the council of state. This was acknowledging the sovereignty of public opinion, and yielding to the liberal impulse which was represented under divers shades, by these two illustrious citizens. The Emperor frankly conversed with Benjamin Constant on the nature of the new policy he proposed following. Without acknowledging himself converted to the constitutional ideas, and without evincing himself particularly disposed to encourage the democratic reminiscences which had so powerfully contributed to restore him the throne, he declared that he should submit to the exigences of the people and even to its caprices, and that he should march in the path, which the public mind should hereafter appear most inclined to. We give some of the memorable words which he pronounced on this occasion, and which the celebrated republican to whom they were addressed has preserved for us.

" The nation," he said, " has rested for twelve years free from all political agitation, and for a year it has been undisturbed by war: this double repose has begotten a necessity for action. It desires, or fancies it desires, a tribune and assemblies; it has not always desired them. It cast itself at my feet when I came to the government; you, who endeavoured to create an opposition, must remember the circumstances. Where was your support, your power? No where. I took even less authority than I was invited to take. But now all is changed. A weak government, opposed to the interests of the nation, has given rise to a habit of cavilling at authority. The taste for constitutions, debates, harangues, seems to have returned; but it is the minority only who desire them. The people, or if you please to call it so, the mob, desire me alone. You have not seen the multitude crowding after me, rushing from the tops of the mountain, seeking, calling on, saluting me. On my return from Cannes, I did not conquer, I administered. I am not, as has been said, merely the Emperor of the soldiers, but of the peasants, and

the whole of plebeian France. There is sympathy between me and the people; hence, notwithstanding all that has passed you see them return to me. It is not so with the privileged classes. The nobility have served me; have rushed in crowds into my ante-chambers; there are no offices they have not accepted or solicited; but there was no analogy between us. The steed, though well-trained, curvetted and fretted. With the people it is altogether different. The popular fibre responds to mine. I sprung from the ranks of the people; my voice has influence over them, because between them and me there is identity of nature: they look to me as their support, their defender against the nobles. If I were to make a sign, or merely to avert my eyes, the nobles would be massacred in all the departments. I will not, however, be the King of a *Jacquerie*. If there are no means of governing with a constitution, be it so. I desired the empire of the world; and to obtain that, ulimited power was necessary. To govern France only, a constitution may be better. I desired the empire of the world—who in my situation would not? The world invited me to govern it. Sovereigns and subjects vied with each other in hastening beneath my sceptre. I have rarely found opposition in France; but from some obscure, unarmed Frenchman, I have met with more of it, than from all the kings at present so determined no longer to have a plebeian for their equal. Consider, then, what seems to you to be possible. Give me your ideas. Free elections, public discussions, responsible ministers, liberty—all this I desire—the liberty of the press in particular, which to stifle was absurd; on that point I am satisfied. I am the man of the people; if the people sincerely wish for liberty, I owe it them, I have recognized their sovereignty. I am bound to listen to their desires, and even to their caprices, I never desired to oppress them; I had great designs; but fate has decided them. I am no longer a conqueror, nor can I again become so. I know what is, and what is not possible. I have now but one charge

to relieve France, and give her a government suited to her. I am not inimical to liberty; I set it aside when it obstructed my path; but I have been educated in its principle and comprehend it. The work of fifteen years is destroyed, and cannot be recommenced; it would require twenty years, and the sacrifice of two millions of men. Besides, I am desirous of peace, and shall obtain it only by dint of victories. I will not hold out false hopes to you. It has been said that there are negociations in train. There are none. I foresee a difficult contest, a long war to maintain, in which the nation must support me; but in return she will require liberty, and she shall have it. The situation is new. All I desire is information of the truth. I grow old; one is no longer at forty-five the same as at thirty. The repose of a constitutional monarch may be suited to me; but it will assuredly be most suitable for my son."

The replies of the Emperor to the various authorities who hurried to offer their felicitations, bore all the stamp of the liberal spirit of which he avowed the revival and the actual predominance, and which he consented to accept as an auxiliary. "Everything for the nation and everything for France!" said he to his ministers, "that is my motto." He did not even confine himself to words; for, by a decree of the 24th March, he suppressed the censorship and direction of the library, This measure provoked many objections on the part of the courtiers. "My faith, gentleman," he said to them, "that is your affair; for myself, I have nothing to fear; I defy any one to print more on my account than has been said of me in the last year."

Meanwhile the Duke and Duchess of Angouléme had endeavoured to raise the south in favour of the royal cause. The Duchess of Angoulême, had displayed, in Bordeaux, so much activity, courage, and constancy, that Napoleon said of her. "She was the only man of the family." Still her efforts could avail nothing against the course of events; General Clausel

arrived, and constrained her to quit Bordeaux without fighting, to take refuge for the second time in a foreign country.

The Duke of Angoulême had fallen into the hands of General Gilly, at Lapalud, and found himself a prisoner, at Pont St. Esprit, at the disposal of the Emperor, whose decision, in regard to this prince, was anxiously awaited by the friends of the Bourbons. The recent memory of the order which had placed Napoleon *without the pale of the law*, was well calculated to render the royalists uneasy, who might fear terrible reprisals. The Emperor made known his resolution to General Grouchy, extraordinary commissary of the south, by a letter which granted the prince the liberty of withdrawing from the country, and which thus permitted him to go and raise war against Napoleon, and against France.

An event, however, of the highest importance was taking place beyond the Alps. Murat, threatened by the congress of Vienna, attempted to raise Italy against Austria. He accused the sovereigns with a lack of gratitude in respect to him, as though their ingratitude were not the providential chastisement of the black ingratitude of which he had been guilty towards Napoleon and towards France. This rising made the monarchs believe that the Emperor had not left the Island of Elba, until after becoming reconciled with his brother-in-law, and that they had planned their double attempt together. It required no more to render the cabinet of Vienna deaf to all the pacific proposals of Napoleon: therefore the Austrian ministers adhered without hesitation, and remained invariably attached to the clause in the treaty of the 25th March, 1815, by which the coalition was reconstituted more compactly than ever, and engaged not to lay down arms until after having again destroyed the throne which the Emperor had just reestablished in so extraordinary a manner. This misfortune caused Napoleon to say in his memoirs: "Twice a prey to the strangest fancies, the King of Naples was twice the cause of our misfortunes; in 1814, by declaring himself against

France, and in 1815, by declaring himself against Austria."

Although the Emperor had but slight hopes of being able to detach Austria from the coalition, and induce the other powers to disarm, he renewed the official attempts which he had so often made, whether as consul, or monarch, in order to determine his enemies to peace, and to throw upon them in any case, the responsibility of the war. With this view, he wrote a letter to each of the sovereigns.

The allied monarchs disdained replying to this overture; they did more; the French plenipotentiaries were not even admitted to present their letters. Napoleon then saw that it was requisite to hasten and prepare seriously for the war.

The unpopularity of the Bourbons was strongly implanted in the heart of the nation, and the admiration for Napoleon was great and universal; however, peace was also the object of the general solicitude; and though the French people appeared resolved upon fresh sacrifices to sustain its honour, its dignity and its independence, it had no desire to recommence the war, and had flattered itself with seeing the coalition dissolve itself by the return of Austria to the French alliance, when Napoleon had loudly announced, in his decrees, that Maria Louisa and the King of Rome would assist at the assembly of the *Champ de Mai*. The unpacific appearance which the Gallic diplomatic relations assumed with all the courts of Europe, and particularly with that of Vienna, disappointed the hopes of a crowd of patriots, who did not behold without sorrowing presentiments, France obliged to return to blows with all Europe. The nation would have esteemed itself too happy to taste of the sweets of peace and the benefits of liberty, under the reign of a hero who had given it so much glory. But peace was acknowledged impossible; what would have become of liberty.

The 22nd April, Napoleon promulgated an additional act to the constitutions of the Empire. Instead of awaiting the work of the new constituent assembly which he had convoked

by his decree of the 13th March, he determined to effect unaided the constitutional revision so solemnly promised: and in order to avoid an inconvenient discussion in respect to this, he reduced the innumerable electors who were to form the *Champ de Mai*, to the functions of scrutinizers. The people was alone consulted, as in the time of the vote for the consulate for life, and for the Empire, on the following act which was laid down in all the municipalities of France:

"ART. 1st.—The constitutions of the Empire, namely the additional act of the 23rd Frimaire, year VIII, the *senatus-consultes* of the 14th and the 16th Themidor, year X, and that of the 28th Floreal, year XII, will be modified by the dispositions which follow. All the other dispositions are confirmed and retained.

"ART. 2.—The legislative power is exercised by the Emperor and two chambers.

"ART. 3.—The first chamber, termed the chamber of peers, *is hereditary.*

"ART. 4.—The Emperor will appoint the members, who will be irrevocable, themselves and their male descendants, from the eldest to the eldest, in direct line. The number of peers, is unlimited, etc., etc., etc."

It would be needless to reproduce the other dispositions of this act. In order to crown the sublime spring of the democracy which had so miraculously placed him on the throne, Napoleon imposed on France the most formidable of aristocracies, by creating hereditary legislators. The Imperial statutes of 1806, which so deeply wounded the spirit of equality of which the Emperor acknowledged France was ardently jealous, left at least at the blind disposal of the chance of birth, merely titles and dignities without political attributes; the additional act went much further, and abandoned to chance the highest of public functions, the right of participating in the perfection of the laws. If Napoleon had created hereditary peers whilst still beneath the weight of his resentment against the Republicans

and had exerted himself, with all the ardour of the founder of a dynasty, in giving solid and brilliant supports to his monarchical edifice, this creation, without being less contrary to the reason of the age, would have been more conformable to logic, and no one had been surpised at it. But after his manifestos of the Gulf of Juan; after that which he had seen, heard, and proclaimed, from Cannes to Paris; after his decree of Lyons, in which he had repeated, in the midst of the acclamations of France, the death-speech of the ancient aristocracy, to propose an hereditary peerage to France! it was too plainly giving the lie to the hopes which his liberal language, and popular allurements had given rise to. Carnot opposed with all his might, the publication of the act containing this imprudent disposition. He pleaded for "acquired glory against hereditary glory, for great honours against the descendants of great men." It was in these very terms that the orators of the consulate, in the name of Napoleon, had formerly signalized the democratic character of the Legion of Honour, and marked the distance which separated this new institution from the aristocratical distinctions of the *ancien régime*.

But the tendencies and relations of the Empire overcame the memory of the consulate. The monarchical feeling maintained all its energy, all its intensity with Napoleon. The Emperor still thought, as he said to Benjamin Constant, that it was the minority which demanded constitutions; and precise and striking as were the popular indications of his last ovation, he persisted in regarding as a temporary yoke, as an affair of the moment, the favour which the constitutional system enjoyed.

Napoleon relied upon the persevering antipathy of the French nation towards the men of the *ancien régime* to gain, by numerous suffrages, his additional act, in which he took care to insert, by the side of the institution of a hereditary peerage, and many other illiberal dispositions, an article which

renewed the abolition of tithes and feudal rights, the extinction of the ancient nobility and perpetual proscription of the Bourbons. Favourable votes, indeed, were not wanting to this ill-fated supplement to the constitutions of the Empire; but it made a sorrowful impression on public opinion, and the popular enthusiasm, so universal and so ardent in the month of March, had already much cooled on the approach of the *Champ de Mai.*

However, some patriotic associations had been formed in the Empire in order to support the doings of the democracy, and watch over the defence of the territory. Paris had her federated bodies of the city and suburbs. Those of the faubourgs St. Marceau and St. Antoine came to offer their aid to the Emperor, demanded arms of him, giving expression to sentiments which his ears had formerly been little used to. But since the Gulf of Juan he had been prepared. It was requisite to continue yielding, as much as possible to the necessities of his position; he, therefore, replied to the federated bodies, who presented themselves as auxiliaries:

"Federated soldiers of the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau.

"I have come alone; because I relied on the people of the towns, the inhabitants of the country, and the soldiers of the army, whose attachment to the national honour I so well knew. You have all justified my confidence. I accept your offer. I will give you arms; I will give you for leaders, officers covered with honourable wounds and accustomed to see the enemy fly before them.

"Federated soldiers, if in the upper classes of society there be men who have dishonoured the French name, the love of country and the sentiment of national honour have been preserved entire in the towns-people, the inhabitants of the country, and the soldiers of the army. I am pleased to see you. I confide in you. *Vive la Nation!*"

The assembled electors at Paris having taken the votes on





the additional act, a central deputation presented the result thereof to the Emperor, in the assembly of the *Champ de Mai.* Thirteen hundred thousand citizens had accepted this act; four thousand had rejected it. Napoleon replied to the president of the deputation by a speech which was the only remarkable incident of this great national day, pompously announced as a new era of regeneration, and afterwards reduced to the dwarfish proportions of a mere scrutiny of votes.

"Gentlemen," said he, "Emperor, Consul, or Soldier, I owe all to the people. In prosperity, in adversity, on the field of battle, in the council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my ideas and actions.

"You will return to your departments. Tell the citizens that the circumstances are great!!! that with union, energy and perseverance, we shall issue victorious from this struggle of a great people against its oppressors; that generations to come will scrutinize our conduct; that a nation has lost all when she has lost her independence. Tell them that the foreign kings whom I have raised to the throne, or who are indebted

to me for the safety of their crowns, who, all, at the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance and the protection of the French people, now direct all their blows against my person; if I did not see that it is the country they aim at, I would place at their mercy, this existence against which they appear so embittered. But say also to the citizens, that as long as Frenchmen preserve for me the sentiments of love, of which they have given me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be impotent.

"Frenchmen, my will is that of the people: my rights are theirs; my honour, my glory, my happiness, cannot be other than the honour, glory, and happiness of France."

Napoleon was very strong when he thus presented himself to the national gaze. His language then had all the power of a deeply felt truth. The people liked to hear him loudly acknowledge the right of identifying his honour and glory with the honour and glory of France; he expressed the idea of each; the conscience of the great man reflected and his mouth divulged the actual opinion of the great people. But nationality was not the only interest calling for the public solicitude. Liberty had been restored to the legal domain of legal discussion; the constitutional arena was re-opened; but it was not for this that God had formed Napoleon. He strove, nevertheless, to stamp his speech, so well calculated to render the oracles of power absolute, with a character more appropriate to the parliamentary *régime.*

On the 4th June, he himself opened the chambers by a speech in which he demanded their concurrence, "in order," as he said, "to make the sacred cause of the people triumph."

Napoleon had nothing to fear from the Chamber of Peers which was his work; but that of the representatives, chosen in the midst of the democratic effervescence of which the proclamations of the Gulf of Juan had given the signal, made the formation of a liberal opposition feared, which might not only be contrary to the governmental tendencies of the Emperor,

but might also interfere with the good understanding so requisite for the defence of the country, between the great powers of the state. La Fayette and Lanjuinais had reappeared in this assembly, and the influence which they had exercised over it from the first sitting, sufficed to indicate the direction and the spirit of it. Lanjuinais had been elevated to the presidency and was charged to express to the Emperor the sentiments of the national representation, for which purpose he repaired to the Tuileries at the head of a deputation, in order to lay at the foot of the throne an address containing the wishes of the assembly, and to which Napoleon replied in these terms :

"The constitution is our rallying point; it should be our polar star in these stormy moments. All public discussion, tending to diminish directly or indirectly confidence in its dispositions, would be an evil for the state; we are now in the midst of the waves, without compass and without a guide. The crisis at which we have arrived is great. Let us not imitate the example of the Lower Empire, which pressed on all sides by the barbarians, rendered itself the laughing stock of posterity, by occupying itself with abstract discussions, at the moment when the ram was forcing the gates of the city."

The Emperor quitted the capital on the 12th June, and marched towards the Belgian frontier. On the 14th he arrived at Avesnes where he published the following proclamation :

"Soldiers! this is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the fate of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous; we believed the protestations and oaths of the princes whom we left on the throne. Now, however, being united, they aim at the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions : let us march to encounter them : they and ourselves are no longer the same men

"Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to

give, perils to incur; but with constancy, victory will be with us; the rights of the man, and the happiness of the country will be reconquered. The moment has arrived for every true hearted Frenchman to conquer or to perish."

Whilst Napoleon thus stimulated the courage of his soldiers, treason again penetrated their ranks: General Bourmont and several other superior officers passed over to the enemy. When the news of this defection reached head-quarters, the Emperor immediately approached Ney, and said to him: "Well, Marshal, what say you of your *protégé?*"—"Sire," replied the bravest of the brave, "I would have relied upon Bourmont as upon myself."—"Go, Marshal," resumed Napoleon, "the blues will be ever blues, and the whites ever whites."

The campaign was opened on the 15th, by the battle of Fleurus. The Prussians were defeated; and lost five pieces of cannon and two thousand men. This success of the advance-guard cost the French army one of its most valiant officers: General Letort, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, received a mortal wound in the abdomen, whilst charging at the head of the squadrons.

The hostile armies which Napoleon had in front, were commanded by Wellington and Blucher. They consisted of more than two hundred and thirty thousand men, whilst the French army had but a hundred and twenty thousand. In order to escape from the danger which might result from too great an inferiority of numbers, Napoleon strove, from the commencement of the campaign, to separate the English from the Prussians, and manœuvred actively to throw himself between them. His plan was strikingly successful on the 16th at the battle of Ligny; Blucher, being attacked alone, was completely beaten, and left twenty-five thousand men on the field of battle. But this enormous loss did not materially enfeeble an army which had such masses of soldiers in line, and behind, still more numerous reserves. In the position in which the Emperor found himself, he required a more decisive advantage, a victory

which should annihilate the army of Blucher, and allow him to fall upon Wellington next, in order to crush him in his turn. This successive defeat of the English and Prussians had been most skilfully prepared by the orders and instructions he despatched on all sides. But, we cannot too often repeat it, his destiny was accomplished; and fatal misunderstandings deceived the calculations of his genius. Moreover, he had himself a presentiment that some unforeseen incident would disarrange his combinations, and that fortune had fresh misfortunes in store for him. "It is certain that in these circumstances," he said to his suite, "I had no longer in myself that definitive feeling; there was nothing of former confidence." His presentiments were too soon realized. After two brilliant days, from which he issued victoriously, he met with a new and final catastrophe, on the plains of Waterloo.

At day-break on the 17th, Grouchy, at the head of thirty-four thousand men, was despatched in pursuit of the enemy, who had fled in two columns by way of Tilly and Gembloux, with orders to proceed to Wavres. About seven in the morning the Emperor galloped forward with Count Lobau's cavalry towards Quatre-Bras, which place he expected to find in possession of Ney; the latter, however, had not been able to retrieve his error of the 16th, and remained facing the position of the British, although now occupied only by their rear-guard, which made off as soon as its commander perceived the approach of Lobau's horsemen. Pursuit was immediately given, Napoleon hoping that he might yet be able to overtake and defeat the English. In consequence of the state of the roads, from the heavy rains, it was near four o'clock, before the retreating column reached the plain of Waterloo, and nearly seven before the troops were in position on the rising ground in front of Mont St. Jean.

That night the English bivouacked on the field they were to maintain in the battle of the morrow. Between six and seven, Napoleon reached Planchenois; and perceiving the

enemy established in position, fixed his head-quarters at the farm of Cailloux, and posted his followers on the heights around La Belle Alliance. The reinforcements received by the Duke of Wellington during the 16th and 17th, had raised his army to seventy-five thousand men, who were supported by two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. Napoleon's forces have been estimated at seventy thousand men, and about two hundred and forty pieces of cannon; it must, however, be borne in mind, that the Duke could not depend on the Belgian, Nassau and Hanoverian troops.

About ten o'clock at night, Napoleon sent a despatch to Grouchy, to announce that the Anglo-Belgian army had taken post in advance of the forest of Soignes, with its left resting on the hamlets of La Haye and Ohain, where Wellington seemed determined on the next day to give battle; Grouchy was, therefore, required to detach from his *corps*, about two hours before day-break, a division of seven thousand men, and sixteen pieces of artillery, with orders to proceed to St. Lambert; and, after putting themselves in communication with the right of the Grand Army, to operate on the left of the British. At the same time, it was intimated that as soon as Blucher should evacuate Wavres, Grouchy should leave the pursuit, and march with the rest of his *corps* to the support of the detachment at St. Lambert. Shortly after this messenger had been sent towards Wavres, a letter from Grouchy, dated at Gembloux, at five o'clock that evening, was received by the Emperor, informing him that the Marshal had been unable to follow the Prussians, being uncertain whether they had proceeded towards Wavres or Liége. He had, indeed, marched but two leagues since morning. When, at length, Grouchy put his *corps* in motion, it was too late to effect the purpose for which he had been sent.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Wellington being in communication with Blucher, was promised by him that the Prussian army should advance to support the British on the morning of the 18th.

The rain which had not ceased during the night, cleared off about five o'clock in the morning; and at eight it was reported by the officers who had been sent to inspect the field, that the ground was practicable for artillery. The Emperor instantly mounted his horse, and rode forward towards La Haye-Sainte to reconnoitre the British line, and ordered an engineer to approach nearer to see if any entrenchments had been thrown up during the night. When informed that no appearance of fortifications existed, he is reported to have exclaimed: "Ha! I have them, then—these English!"

The Duke of Wellington had determined, according to the plan of operations agreed on between him and Blucher, to act upon the defensive until the arrival of the Prussian army, which was expected about noon. The English were divided into two lines; the first consisted of the troops most to be relied on; and the second, of those whose zeal and fidelity were doubtful, or who had suffered most in the battle of Quatre-Bras. The cavalry, disposed in three lines, guarded the rear. The right-wing extended to the village of Merke-Braine, near Braine-la-Leud; the centre rested on the heights of Mont St. Jean; and the left was supported by the hamlet of Ter-la-Haye. The château and gardens of Hougomont on the right, and the farm-house of La Haye-Sainte in front, were occupied by strong detachments, as important points of defence.

By half-past ten o'clock the two armies were arrayed, and impatient for orders to commence the battle. The Emperor proceeded to the heights of Rosomme, where he dismounted to obtain a clear view of the whole field; and there stationed his guard, as a reserve, to act where emergency might require. Meanwhile, the English remained silent and steady, waiting the commands of their chief; who, with telescope in hand, stood beneath a tree, near the cross-road, in front of his position, watching the movements of his opponents.

About noon, Prince Jerome, who had the command of the

left wing of his brother's army, began the engagement by an impetuous charge on the position of Hougomont, and speedily drove thence the Nassau troops. The château and gardens, however, were bravely defended by a division of English guards, who were not to be dislodged; and Jerome, masking the point, pushed on with his cavalry and artillery against Wellington's right. The Belgian and Nassau soldiers gave way here also; but the firmness of the British infantry, the steady and continuous stream of their musketry, and the skilfully directed fire of their artillery, defied all the efforts of their assailants; and after a desperate contest, Jerome was compelled to retire, leaving the English still masters of Hougomont, who at once strengthened and reinforced the position. The fight, nevertheless raged here more or less during the day, till at length the château was set on fire by the shells of the French, and it was found necessary to abandon it.

Napoleon who was anxiously watching the first movement of his troops, was interrupted by an aide-de-camp, sent by Ney, who had been charged to attack the enemy's centre, arriving at full gallop to announce that everything was in readiness, and the Marshal only waiting the signal to attack. For a moment the Emperor glanced round the field, and perceived in the direction of St. Lambert, a moving cloud advancing on the left of the English: pointing it out to Soult, he asked whether he conceived it to be Grouchy or Blucher? The Marshal being in doubt, Generals Domont and Subervic were despatched with their divisions of light cavalry, with orders to clear the way in the event of its being Grouchy, and if Blucher, to keep him in check. It was shortly afterwards ascertained from a Prussian hussar who was taken prisoner, and from a letter which he bore, that the column at St. Lambert was Bulow's advanced guard, who was rapidly following with thirty thousand men; and that Blucher still remained at Wavres, where Grouchy had not yet appeared. An officer was immediately despatched to urge the arrival of Grouchy,

and Lobau, with two divisions, was sent to support Domont in keeping the Prussians in check; their instructions being to charge furiously, the instant Grouchy should appear.

Ney was then ordered to march to the attack of La Haye-Sainte; after taking that post with the bayonet, and leaving a division of infantry, he was to proceed to the farms of Papelotte and La Haye, and place his troops between those of Wellington and Bulow. With his usual promptitude, the Prince of the Moskowa had in a few moments opened a battery of eighty cannon upon the left centre of the English line. The havoc occasioned by this deadly fire was so immense, that Wellington was obliged to draw back his men to the reverse slope of the hill on which they had stood, in order to screen them from its effects. The Count d'Erlon, under cover of the fire, advanced along the Genappe road; but as they ascended the position of La Haye-Sainte, the Duke of Wellington directed against them a charge of cavalry, which speedily drove one column back into the hollow.

The English guards were in turn repulsed by a brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers, and galloping onwards, attacked the infantry; the horsemen not being able to make an impression on the squares formed for their reception, while they were themselves exposed to an incessant fire of musketry. One of D'Erlon's unbroken columns pushed forward, meanwhile, beyond La Haye-Sainte, upon which it made no attack, and charging one Belgian and three Dutch regiments, drove them from their posts in disorder, and took possession of the heights. Sir Thomas Picton was now sent to dislodge the enemy, and being supported by a brigade of heavy cavalry, the French, after firing a volley, paused, wheeled, and fled in confusion. Many were cut down by the Guards; while seven guns, two eagles, and about two thousand prisoners were taken. The British, however, pursued their success too far; and becoming involved among the infantry, were attacked by a body of cuirassiers, in their turn broken, and forced to retire with great loss, leaving

the captured guns to their new assailants, and giving the infantry an opportunity of reforming their ranks. The Emperor himself led the charge that dispersed this brigade of English cavalry, in which General Devaux was killed, and L'Allemand wounded. Here also fell the English Generals, Picton and Sir William Ponsonby.

Although for the time, Ney was deprived of his artillery, he continued to advance upon La Haye-Sainte. For three hours, this important position, and the part of the field which it commanded, was hotly contested by both parties, the hill being now held by the English, and now by the French. The contest which shortly extended itself along the whole front of the British line, became of the most desperate character. Whole battalions fell as they stood in line; and the cries and groans of the wounded and dying were heard even above the incessant roll of the musketry, and the thunder of the artillery.

Napoleon, who had returned to the rising ground to watch the progress of the battle, fancying he beheld indications of the enemy's retreat, ordered Kellerman to advance with all his cuirassiers immediately, to support the cavalry between Mont St. Jean and La Haye-Sainte. The dragoons galloping forward, drove the English from their guns, and furiously charged the squares of infantry behind. For a time the cannon was in possession of the French, but so tremendous a fire was maintained by the British infantry, that they could neither secure nor spike the pieces; when the cavalry retired, the artillery-men issuing from the squares in which they had taken refuge, instantly manned their guns, and poured a destructive volley of grape-shot upon the foe. Notwithstanding the deadly shower which thinned their ranks, the cuirassiers appeared determined to succeed in their purpose; and returned to the charge again and again, riding round the squares, and penetrating even to the second British line; the infantry, however, was immoveable; and after sustaining frightful



carnage, the cuirassiers were compelled to retire. The conflict now rather abated, until near six o'clock, and the chiefs of each army were anxiously expecting reinforcements. Domont, Lobau, and Subervic had effectually checked Bulow on the French right; but there was no sign of Grouchy making his appearance, and it was soon discovered that Blucher had come up with the main body of his army, and that the French opposed to him could not long maintain their ground. News was received from Grouchy, that instead of leaving Gembloux at day-break, according to his previously stated intentions, he

had delayed there till half-past nine, and then pursued the road to Wavres, being unacquainted with the Emperor's engagement at Waterloo. No assistance could, therefore, be expected from Grouchy, till after seven o'clock in the evening. As it was of the utmost importance that Blucher's junction with Wellington should be prevented, orders were despatched to Lobau, to use every effort to restrain the advance of the Prussians. Duhesme was also sent with eight thousand of the Young Guard, and twenty-four field pieces, towards Planchenois, upon which village, Lobau must necessarily fall back, if hard pressed. This feeble army could not long arrest the progress of Blucher; and the dark masses of the Prussians were shortly afterwards seen debouching upon the plain from the Wavres road.

The crisis of the battle now approached, and Napoleon saw that nothing but the most consummate skill and desperate valour could save his army from ruin. His preparations were, therefore, commenced for the final struggle. A series of movements, changing the whole front of his army, so as to face both Prussians and English, was the result of his first orders. The left wing was brought nearer to La Belle Alliance by being withdrawn from Hougomont. Kellerman and Milhaud's cavalry were ordered to fall back from Mont St. Jean, and Duhseme and Lobau to continue their retreat, and range in line above Planchenois; General Pelet was to hold that village, and support the movement. At the same time, a report was spread along the lines that Grouchy was approaching, and that courage and perseverance would shortly insure a victory.

Napoleon next formed the infantry of the Imperial Guard, which had not yet been brought into action, at the foot of the position of La Belle Alliance, into two columns, and led them forward in person, to a ravine which crossed the Genappe road, in front of the British lines. Here he relinquished the command to Ney, at the entreaty of his officers: the Marshal,

who had had five horses shot under him during the day, advanced on foot. A heavy discharge of artillery announced that they were in motion; the British guns soon commenced a most destructive firing on the troops, which committed dreadful havoc. Although their numbers were thinned at every step, the guards continued to advance, and soon gained the rising ground of Mont St. Jean, where the English awaited their assault. The French bands played the Imperial march, and the troops rushed on with loud shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The Belgian, Dutch and Brunswick troops gave way instantly, and the Duke of Wellington was compelled to rally them in person. Before the Imperial guard could deploy, he gave the word for the British infantry to advance; the men, who had been lying prostrate on the hill, or resting on their arms on the slope, sprang forward, and closing around Ney, and his gallant followers, poured into their ranks a continuous stream of bullets. The guard attempting to deploy, were thrown into confusion, and rushed in a crowd to the hollow road in front of La Haye-Sainte, whence they were speedily driven. In this desperate charge, Ney's uniform and hat were riddled with balls.

In the mean time, Blucher had pressed forward, and driven the few French from the hamlet of La Haye; and his advanced guard already communicated with the British left. Bulow, who had been repulsed from Planchenois, but was now reinforced, was again advancing. Napoleon's sole reserve was the four battalions of the Old Guard which had been destined to cover Ney's retreat. Wellington, having assumed the offensive, was advancing at the head of his whole army. It already grew dusk; the French had every where given way: the guard, never before vanquished, had been routed by the stern troops of Britain; and night brought with it terror and despair. It having been reported that the Old Guard had yielded, a panic suddenly spread throughout the French lines, and the fatal cry of "*Sauve qui peut!*" was raised, and

becoming universal, discipline and courage were forgotten, and a wild flight ensued. For a moment, the Emperor strove to rally the fugitives, but without avail, and he was compelled to throw himself into the square of his old guard, with his brother Jerome, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Corbineau, Drouot, Flahault, Gourgaud, Labédoyère, and Cambrone.

The cavalry and artillery of the English and Prussians now scattered death on all sides. The vengeance of the latter was unsatiated, and these scoured the field, making fearful carnage, and giving no quarter.

The old guard was yet unbroken, and Napoleon lingered on the ground. Prince Jerome, who had fought bravely throughout the day, urged him to an act of desperation. "Here, brother," said he, "all who bear the name of Bonaparte should fall!"

Napoleon, who was on foot, mounted his horse, but his soldiers would not listen to any proposal involving his death: and, at length, an aide-de-camp seizing his bridle, led him at a gallop from the field. He arrived at Genappe shortly before ten o'clock, where he again attempted to rally; but the confusion was so great as to be utterly irremediable; and, as the English and Prussian cavalry were close at hand, he was forced to hasten onwards to Charleroi, where he procured some refreshment; then proceeding to Philippeville, he continued his route to Laon. At nine o'clock, on the 20th, accompanied by Maret, and Generals Bertrand, Drouot, Gourgaud, and Labédoyère, he reached Paris, and slept for the night at the Elysée Palace.

At Fleurus, Ligny, Quartre-Bras, Waterloo, and the rout which succeeded, the French lost forty thousand men; the Prussians thirty-eight thousand; the Belgians and Dutch eight thousand; the Hanoverians three thousand five hundred; and the English between eleven and twelve thousand; in all upwards of a hundred thousand men laid down their lives for the restoration of a baseless throne to the despicable elder Bourbons.

The Emperor too well knew the spirit which reigned in the Chamber of Representatives, not to foresee that the news of the dispersion of his army would array against him the storms of the Tribunate. It was on this account, therefore, that he hastened his return to the capital, in order to restrain by his presence the enemies of the interior, and calm or prevent the parliamentary crisis. Immediately on his arrival, he sent for his brothers, Joseph and Lucien, as well as for the arch-chancellor Cambacérès, and other ministers. The situation was difficult: every one tendered his ideas as to the best method of averting the public dangers. The council of state was next called, to whom the Emperor explained his misfortunes, his wants, and his hopes. Perfectly understanding how important it was for him to manage the Chamber of Representatives, and not to suffer the want of harmony which might exist between them and himself to appear, he affected to attribute to an ill-disposed minority, the hostile dispositions which were manifested in this assembly.

But Napoleon, if he had really mistaken the dispositions of the majority of the representatives of France, might have been presently undeceived by their acts. The assembly obeyed, more than he could ever have believed, the directions of Lanjuinais and La Fayette. On the motion of this last, it constituted itself permanent, and declared whoever should attempt to dissolve it, a traitor to his country. This rupture, which was about to throw a heavy responsibility on the national representation, aimed the last blow at the political existence of Napoleon. The Bourbons and their allies were rejoiced at this, and gave a loose to their delight. They foresaw that so marked a rupture between the Emperor, and the representatives of the country, must inevitably lead to a second abdication, or a fresh 18th Brumaire, and that liberal France without Napoleon, could not, any more than Napoleon without liberal France, long resist the allied armies.

When the determination of the representatives was made

known at the Elysée-Bourbon, it spread consternation around the Emperor. His most zealous servants gave way to despair, and counselled him to submit to the inexorable destiny which demanded of him a further sacrifice. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely was one of those who most strongly insisted that it was requisite for him to immolate himself once more at the altar of the country. Then Napoleon, who had also just learnt that the Chamber of Peers had eagerly imitated that of the Representatives, felt himself at once overcome both by friends and enemies, and declared himself resolved to abdicate in favour of his son. One single man in the council combatted this resolution, as being certain again to deliver France to strangers; and this man was the same who had single-handed opposed the establishment of the Imperial government. Carnot, though still devoted to the cause of liberty, thought the national independence ought not to be compromised by a lack of confidence in the Emperor, and he believed that this first interest of nations would be imperilled by the retirement of the only chief whom the army and the people could or would follow. When the contrary opinion had prevailed, he leant his elbows on a table, at which he had been writing, and with his head buried in his two hands, he wept bitterly. It was then that Napoleon said to him: "I have known you too late." The Emperor afterwards dictated the following proclamation:

"Frenchmen! in commencing the war to support the national independence, I relied on the union of every effort, of every will, and on the concurrence of the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and had braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to be changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they be sincere in their declarations, and have aimed at naught save my person! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, by the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French. The present ministers



will provisionally form the council of government. The interest which I take in my son, induces me to invite the Chambers to organize, without delay, the Regency by a law. Unite all for the public welfare, and to remain an independent nation."

This declaration was immediately conveyed to the two Chambers. The representatives who had provoked it, received it with transport. But they took no explicit determination in respect to Napoleon II., whose legitimacy was stoutly upheld by some orators, among others by M. Béranger de la Drôme. The discussion which arose on this point, brought before the tribunate a man, of whom it was said, that he came to seize on the heritage of Mirabeau: this was Manuel.

The Chamber of Representatives thought it requisite to

send a deputation to Napoleon, in order to felicitate him on his second abdication.

"I thank you," he said to these deputies, "for the sentiments which you express towards me; I wish that my abdication may constitute the happiness of France; but I do not expect it; it leaves the state without political existence. The time lost in overthrowing the monarchy, might have been employed in placing France in a position to crush the enemy. I recommend the Chambers promptly to reinforce the armies; who desires peace should prepare for war. Do not place this great nation at the mercy of strangers. Dread to be deceived in your hopes; there lies the danger. In whatever position I may be, I shall always be content if France is happy."

However, the enemies of the Imperial dynasty triumphed in the Chamber of Representatives; they had set aside the proclamation of Napoleon II., and named a committee of five members, to form a provisional government, viz: Fouché, Carnot, Grenier, Quinette, and Caulaincourt. At this news, Napoleon gave way to his indignation:

"I have not abdicated in favour of a new directory," he exclaimed, "I have abdicated in favour of my son. If they do not proclaim him, my abdication is null and void. The Chambers well know that the people, the army, public opinion, desire and wish for him, but he is withheld by the foreigner. It is not by presenting themselves before the allies with their ears flapping, and knees to the ground; that they will force them to acknowledge the national independence. If they had felt their position, they would have seen that you knew how to have a will, an aim, a rallying point; they would have seen that the 20th March was not an affair of party, a factious rising, but the result of the attachment of the French to my person and my dynasty. National unanimity would have effected more with them than all our base and shameful deferences."

Paris, however, contained a great number of patriots, who

thought, with Carnot, that it was necessary above all to look to the defence of the country, and that this defence was scarcely possible without the arm, without the genius, without the name of the Emperor. The military men partook of, and loudly proclaimed this opinion. On all sides were heard shouts of: "No more Emperor, no more soldiers!" The crowd which constantly increased, marched round the Elysée-Bourbon, where Napoleon resided, and finished by rendering the Chambers and Fouché uneasy, who led the provisional government and negociated with the foreigner. It was feared that the abdication would be deemed only a farce by the allied powers, so long as the Emperor remained at Paris. Carnot was charged to impart to him the uneasiness of his colleagues, and to prevail upon him to leave the capital. With this object he repaired to the Elysée, where he found Napoleon alone in the bath. When he had informed him of the cause of his visit, the fallen potentate appeared surprised at the alarm which his presence excited. "I am now but a private citizen," said he, "I am less than a private citizen."

Nevertheless, he promised to yield to the wish of the Chambers and of the provisional government, and retired, on the 25th June, to Malmaison, whence he again wished to address to the army a proclamation as follows:—

"Soldiers! when I yield to the necessity which compels me to leave the brave French army, I bear with me the happy certainty that it will justify by the eminent services which the country awaits from it, the praises which even our enemies cannot withhold.

"Soldiers! although absent, I shall follow in your footsteps. I know all the *corps*, and none will gain a signal advantage over the enemy, but I shall render homage to the courage which it will have displayed. You and I have been calumniated. Men unworthy to appreciate your labours, have seen in the marks of attachment which you have rendered me, a zeal of which I was the sole object; may your future successes

teach them, that it was the country which you really served, in obeying me; and that if I had any share in your affection, I was indebted for it to my ardent love for France, our common mother.

"Soldiers! a few efforts more, and the coalition will be dissolved. Napoleon will recognize you by the blows you are about to strike.

"Save the honour, the independence of the French; be the same men that I have known you for the last twenty years, and you will be invincible!"

At Malmaison, Napoleon was still too near Paris not to give umbrage to his enemies. Fouché was in constant apprehension of some fresh resolutions from him; he therefore actually caused him to be kept sight of by General Becker, under pretext of watching over his safety. On the 27th June, on the rumour of the approach of the allies, an imprudent manœuvre on whose part appeared to him to offer an opportunity of completely defeating them, he wrote to the provisional government to place himself at their disposal as a soldier.

"In abdicating my power," he said, "I have not renounced the noblest right of a citizen, the right of defending my country.

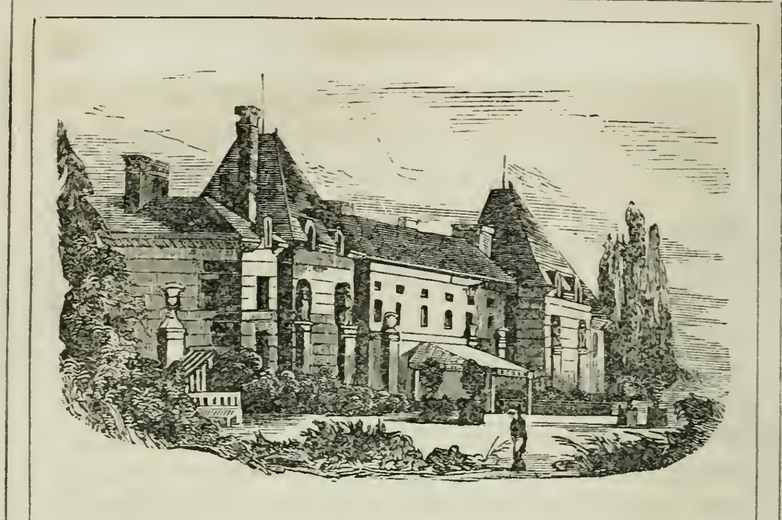
"The approach of the enemies to the capital, leaves no longer a doubt of their intentions, of their bad faith.

"In these grave circumstances, I offer my services as General, regarding myself as the first soldier of the country."

Those who had required the abdication of the Emperor could scarcely replace at the head of the army the great captain whom they had caused to descend from the throne. They well knew that a soldier like him had no other rank but that of generalissimo, and that to accept him as an auxiliary, was to reinstate him as master. Consequently they refused, and their reply greatly irritated Napoleon. He spoke of again placing himself at the head of the army, and of attempting a

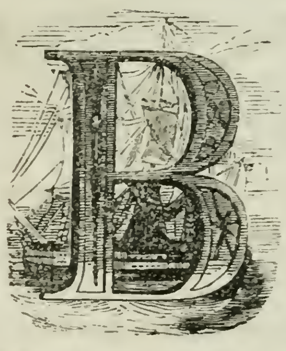
coup d'état, a repetition of the 18th Brumaire. The Duke of Bassano, however, dissuaded him from it, by representing to him that circumstances were no longer the same as in the year VIII. Obliged to yield, he quitted Malmaison, and left for Rochefort, with the intention of sailing for the United States of America. He was accompanied by Generals Montholon, Resigny, Planat, Las Cases, father and son, with a few others of his suite.





CHAPTER XXIII.

Arrival of Napoleon at Rochefort. Letter to the Prince Regent. He repairs on board the Bellerophon, and sets sail for England. The conduct of the English ministry in respect to him. Contrast with the great sympathy evinced towards him by the British nation. Napoleon protests against the destination assigned to him by the English cabinet. He is embarked on board the Northumberland, and sent to St. Helena.



BECKER, to whom the provisional government had confided the difficult task of watching his illustrious master at Malmaison, received orders to accompany him to Rochefort, and not to quit him, until he was on board a vessel which should conduct him beyond sea. This brave general had said to the Emperor on meeting him: "I am charged with a painful mission, and shall do everything that lies in my power to acquit myself of it to your satisfaction." He had the good sense to keep his word, and

never for a moment to forget himself; he never swerved from the deference and regard he owed to fallen greatness, and unfortunate genius.

Napoleon left Malmaison on the 29th June, and arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd July. The next day, his brother Joseph rejoined him. During his stay in this town, the Emperor constantly heard loud acclamations around his dwelling; he several times appeared at the balcony of the *préfecture* where he lodged, and always received fresh testimonies of the profound affection which the people retained for him. He embarked on the 8th July, with the intention of repairing to the United States, and with the firm confidence that the safe-conducts which the provisional government had promised him, would be forwarded to him without obstacle or delay by the allies. Two days after, he sent Las Cases and Savary on board the Bellerophon, to learn from the commander of the English cruizer if he had not received a formal order from the ministers of His Britannic Majesty not to oppose his passage. No instruction had yet reached Captain Maitland, who commanded the Bellerophon, and who contented himself with saying that he would refer it to the Admiral. On the 14th, Napoleon was still at the Island of Aix, waiting for a reply. This prolonged silence caused him some impatience, and he determined to put an end to the uncertainty in which he had been left for four days. Las Cases, accompanied by Lallemand, returned to Captain Maitland, who persisted in his negative declarations, at the same time offering to receive the Emperor on board, and convey him to England, where he would meet with all the good treatment and consideration he could desire.

When Las Cases and Lallemand had rendered an account of the result of their mission, Napoleon assembled his companions in misfortune around him, and consulted with them as to the course he should adopt. In front was a cruizer which there could be no hope of forcing, and behind, a land which the

invasion of strangers and the return of the Bourbons would render inhospitable to all who bore the name of Napoleon, and to those who had been too nearly associated with his glory. In this critical position, the Emperor believed that he could not do better than address himself to the generosity of the English nation, and solemnly to choose them for his host. He then took the pen, and wrote these memorable lines to the Prince Regent:—

"ROYAL HIGHNESS—Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe, I have closed my political career. I come, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

(*Signed*) "NAPOLEON."

Las Cases and Gourgaud took this letter to Captain Maitland, to whom they announced that Napoleon would repair on the following morning on board his ship. On the 15th, therefore, at day-break, the brig *Epervier*, conveyed the great man to the Bellerophon. At the moment of boarding her, the Emperor perceiving General Becker approaching him, no doubt to tender his adieus, said to him: "Retire, General, I do not wish it to be thought that a Frenchman has come to deliver me into the hands of my enemies." In pronouncing these words, however, he held out his hand to him, and did not send him away until after having pressed him for the last time in his arms.

On setting foot on board the Bellerophon, Napoleon said to the captain: "I come on board your ship, to place myself under the protection of the laws of England." This officer immediately conducted him to his cabin, of which he was put in possession. On the following day the Emperor went on board the Superb, over which he was shewn by Admiral Hot-



ham, the Commander on the station. He returned the same day to the Bellerophon, which immediately set sail for England. In the visit which Napoleon paid Admiral Hotham, the latter, according to the undoubted testimony of Las Cases, "evinced, throughout, all the grace and refinement of a man of rank and education."—"The Emperor," says the same author, "had not been long amongst his most inveterate enemies, those who had been continually fed with rumours no less absurd than irritating, before he acquired all the influence over them which belongs to glory. The captain, officers, and crew, soon adopted the etiquette of his suite, shewing him exactly the same attention and respect; the captain addressed him either as *Sire* or *Your Majesty*; when he appeared on deck, every one took off his hat, and remained uncovered

while he was present—this was not the case at first. There was no entering his cabin, except by passing the attendants: no persons but those who were invited appeared at his table. Napoleon was, in fact, Emperor on board the Bellerophon."

Arrived at Torbay, on the 24th July, Captain Maitland despatched a messenger for the orders of Lord Keith, the commander-in-chief, who desired him to repair to Plymouth, where the Bellerophon anchored on the 26th.

As soon as it became known on the English shore, that the Emperor approached, the greatest curiosity was manifested. The bay was covered with boats, and an eagerness, mingled with admiration, was universally evinced at the name of Napoleon. This reception from the people contrasted too strongly with the fate which the Britannic government had reserved for the Emperor, for the ministers of King George not to seek to diminish and even wholly to prevent the demonstrations which so loudly accused the political atrocity of which they were about to become the instruments. At Plymouth, the Bellerophon was surrounded by armed boats, which had orders to fire on the curious to drive them away. Despite these savage instructions, all England seemed to rush to Plymouth, in the hope of seeing the hero of France, and the sea continued covered with vessels around that which served for the prison of the great man.

In the midst of the acclamations, of which he was the object, on the part of a nation which had so long been his enemy, Napoleon was impatient to learn the intention of the British government in respect to him. Lord Keith had been on board the Bellerophon, but his visit, full of coldness and reserve, had lasted but a moment. He returned at the latter end of July, with Sir Charles Bunbury, in the most cruel manner to put an end to the uncertainty of the Emperor: he was the bearer of a ministerial despatch which assigned the Island of St. Helena, for the residence of General Bonaparte. This was a sentence of transportation which the climate was

charged to commute into sentence of death. When Napoleon learnt from the mouth of the Admiral, this resolution of the English cabinet, he gave way to his indignation, and protested with all his might against so manifest a violation of the law of nations. "I am the guest of England," said he, "and not her prisoner; I came of my own accord to place myself under the protection of her laws; the most sacred rights of hospitality are violated in my person; I will never voluntarily accede to the outrage which is done me; violence alone shall compel me to do so."

Subsequently, in order to render the transportation to which he was condemned more cruel, the number of persons who were to follow him was limited to three, and care was taken to exclude from these Savary and Lallemand. These two faithful servants of Napoleon might well believe they were destined to become victims on the scaffold which Louis XVIII. was preparing by his proscription of the 24th July, in which they were both comprised.

What was passing, however, in the soul of Napoleon, after the notification of the homicidical sentence which Lord Keith had transmitted to him? To be imprisoned in exile, to attain a slow and painful death, what a fate for him whose vast and sublime ambition felt itself more than once confined in the exercise of the European supremacy! for the hero who had beheld the most haughty sovereigns crowding his antechambers! Is he about to present the world with the example of an unheard of resignation, or the spectacle of a vulgar despair? He sent for Las Cases, began to speak of St. Helena, asked what sort of a place it was; whether it was possible to exist there; and similar questions, "But," said he, "after all, is it quite certain that I shall go there? Is a man dependent on others when he wishes that his dependence should cease?—My friend," he continued, after a pause, "I have sometimes an idea of quitting you, and this would not be very difficult; it is only necessary to create a little mental excitement, and I

shall soon have escaped. All will be over, and you can then quietly rejoin your families. This is the more easy, since my internal principles do not oppose any bar to it; I am one of those who conceive that the pains of the other world were only imagined as a counterpoise to those inadequate allurements which are offered to us there. God can never have willed such a contradiction to his infinite goodness, especially for an act of this kind; and what is it after all, but wishing to return to him a little sooner?"

Las Cases warmly combatted these notions which filled him with alarm; and in order to reconcile Napoleon with life, of which he appeared weary, depicted to him a possible future. "Who can tell the secrets of time, or dare assert what the future may produce? What may not happen from the mere change of a ministry, the death of a prince, that of a confidant, the slightest passion, or the most trifling dispute?"

"Some of these suggestions have their weight," said the Emperor, "but what can we do in that desolate place?"—"Sire," replied Las Cases, "we will live on the past: there is enough in it to satisfy us. Do we not enjoy the life of Cæsar and that of Alexander? We shall possess still more, you will re-peruse yourself, Sire!"—"Be it so!" rejoined Napoleon; "we will write our memoirs. Yes, we must be employed; for occupation is the scythe of Time. After all, a man ought to fulfil his destinies; this is my grand doctrine: let mine also be accomplished!" Thus Napoleon once more became himself! If the wickedness, the disloyalty, the ingratitude of men had in a moment of disgust urged him to despair, and at length seemed to overwhelm him, he immediately roused himself by the thought of his past glory and of his powerful nature.

The Bellerophon left Plymouth roads on the 4th August; but instead of making for the south, she sailed up the Channel. Napoleon then learnt that he was to be transferred to another ship, the Northumberland, which was destined to transport

him to St. Helena. The energetic words which he had addressed to Lord Keith, on receiving his fatal communication, might have been lost to history, had he not reproduced them in a formal protestation which was sent to the admiral, and merits to be literally quoted.

"PROTEST.

"I hereby solemnly protest in the face of heaven and mankind, against the violence that is done me; and the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I voluntarily came on board the Bellerophon—I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England. I came at the instigation of the Captain himself, who said he had orders from the Government to receive and convey me to England, together with my suite, if agreeable to me. I came forward with confidence to place myself under the protection of the laws of England. When once on board the Bellerophon, I was entitled to the hospitality of the British people. If the government, in giving the captain of the Bellerophon orders to receive me and my followers, only wished to lay a snare, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag.

"If this act be consummated it will be in vain for the English henceforth to talk of their sincerity, their laws, and liberties. British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

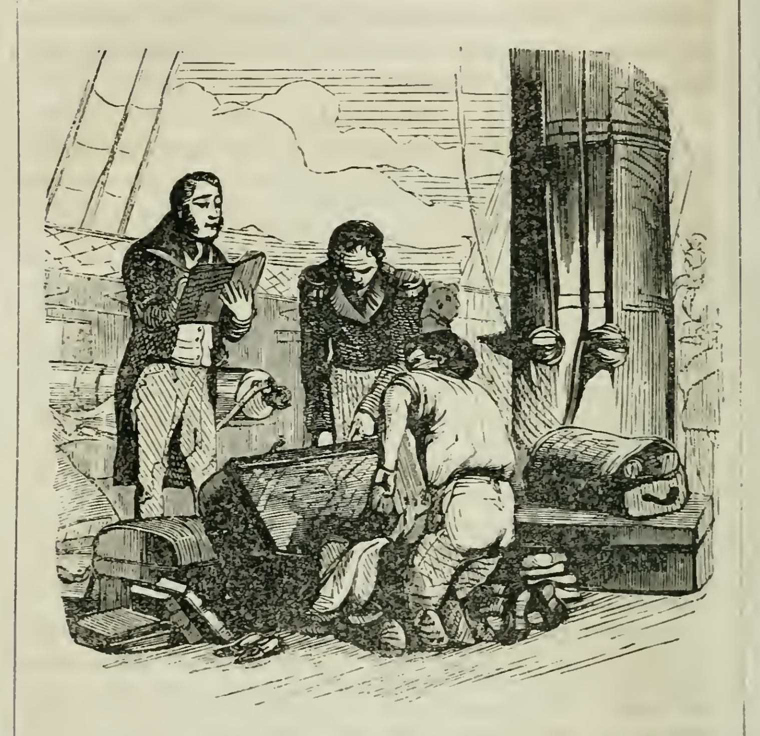
"I appeal to history: it will say that an enemy who made war for twenty years against the English people came spontaneously, in the hour of misfortune, to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and confidence? But how did England reply to such an act of magnanimity? It pretended to hold out a hospitable hand to this enemy; and, on giving himself up with confidence, he was immolated!

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

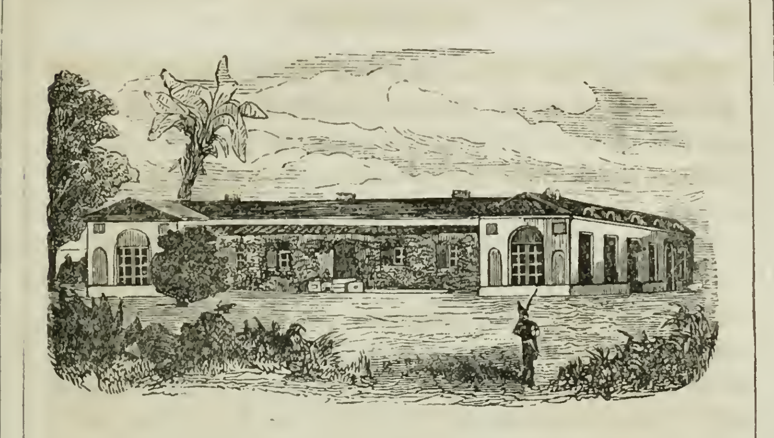
Bellerophon at Sea,
Friday, Aug. 4th, 1815.

The Emperor quitted the Bellerophon on the 7th August, and was conveyed on board the Northumberland, commanded by Admiral Cockburn. This moment was fixed upon for disarming all the persons of his suite; but a remnant of modesty made them respect his sword. His effects were visited by the admiral himself, assisted by a custom-house officer. Four thousand

napoleons were taken from him, and only fifteen hundred left him to pay the servants. When it was necessary to

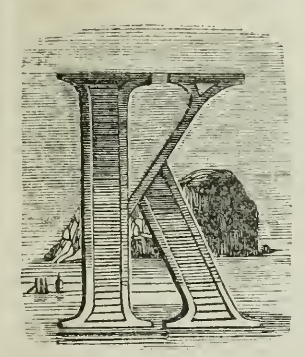


separate himself from the faithful friends who had been refused the favour of sharing his prison and his distant exile, Savary, all in tears, threw himself at his feet and kissed his hands. "The Emperor," says Las Cases, "calm and collected, embraced him, and continued his way towards the accommodation-ladder, graciously saluting all those who happened to be on the quarter-deck. The whole of our party whom we left behind, were in tears; and I could not help saying to Lord Keith, with whom I was conversing at the time: "You observe, my lord, that those who weep are those who are to remain!"



CHAPTER XXIV.

The Passage. Arrival at St. Helena. Sojourn in this island to the departure of Las Cases.



KEITH had been extremely polite, but also strictly reserved in his relations with the French on board the Bellerophon. Cockburn was not less polished, and evinced more interest and respect for the great man of whom he had temporarily become the involuntary gaoler.

The English ministers, however, had been highly dissatisfied with the respect which had been shewn towards Napoleon by Captain Maitland and his crew. They warmly censured this officer for having given his prisoner the title which he bore on the throne; and they took the strictest precautions, that nothing of the kind should be renewed on board the Northum-

berland. In their instructions they declared that the title of *General* was to be the only one permitted towards the fallen potentate. When Napoleon learnt all these meannesses, invented to humiliate him, he exclaimed: "Let them call me whatever they choose, they cannot prevent me from being myself!" Las Cases observes:

"It was in fact no less whimsical than ridiculous to see the Ministers of England attach such importance to giving only the title of General to one who had governed so large a portion of Europe, and made seven or eight kings, of whom several still retained this title of his creation; who had been above ten years Emperor of the French, and been anointed as well as consecrated in that quality by the head of the church; one who could boast two or three elections of the French people to the sovereignty; who had been acknowleged as Emperor by the whole of continental Europe; had treated as such with all the sovereigns; concluding every species of alliance both of blood and interest with them: so that he united in his person every title, civil, political and religious, existing amongst men: and which, by a singular though real coincidence, not one of the reigning princes of Europe could have shewn accumulated in an equal degree, on the chief and founder of his dynasty. Nevertheless his majesty, who intended, had he landed in England, to assume the name and title of Colonel Duroc or Muiron, no longer thought of it now that his legitimate titles were obstinately disputed."

On the 11th August, the Northumberland got clear of the channel. When passing Cape de la Hogue, Napoleon recognized the coasts of France. He immediately saluted them, by extending his hands towards the shore, and exclaiming with emotion: "Adieu, land of the brave! adieu, dear France; a few traitors less, and thou hadst still been the mistress of the world!" Such were the last adieus of the great man to the noble country of the great people!

During the passage, the Emperor was one day surprised on

deck, during his habitual walk after dinner, by a violent storm. He refused to retire, and satisfied himself with ordering his famous grey great-coat to be brought, with which he braved the torrents of rain. Even the English could not help regarding this coat with admiration and respect.

The reading of the papers served to fill up a portion of the Emperor's time. He seldom met with anything but injurious expressions and lies, directed against himself. This, however, he totally disregarded, and said to Las Cases on the subject. "Poison could no longer harm Mithridates; ah well! since 1814, calumny has been incapable of aught against me."

On the 15th October, the Northumberland anchored in the roads of St. Helena; on the 16th, the Emperor landed with the admiral and general Bertrand. He was at first lodged at Briars, in the house of a merchant of the island, named Balcombe.

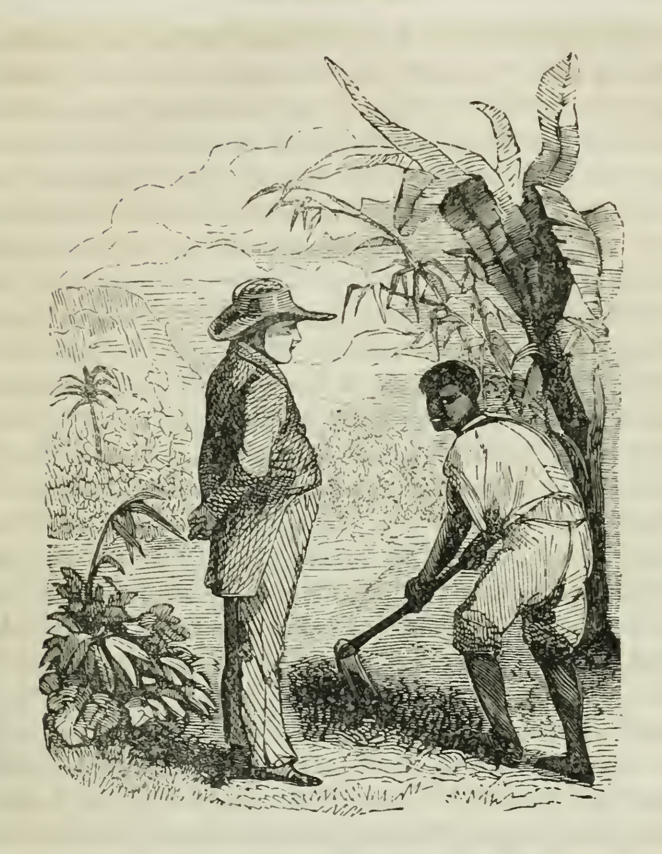
This was merely a temporary abode; his definitive residence was fixed for Longwood, the governor's country-house. He had visited this on his arrival; but it was not yet in a fit state for his reception. From Mr. Balcombe he always met with the respect due to him, and found some resources against *ennui.* This worthy family neglected nothing which could contribute to soften the unpleasantness of his situation.

During his stay at Briars, Napoleon went out but once, and then it was in order to visit the major of the regiment at St. Helena. He busied himself with his Memoirs, and dictated at great length to Las Cases, father and son, also to Montholon, Gourgaud and Bertrand. His habitual walks were in the covered alleys and woods of Briars, whence nothing but frightful precipices could be seen.

Mr. Balcombe's garden was cultivated by an old negro, a Malay-Indian, who had been fraudulently seized by an English crew and sold as a slave. The Emperor, in his walks, often met with this unfortunate fellow, and evinced much interest in him; he appeared decided upon buying his freedom, and

never spoke of his abduction but with the greatest indignation. One day when he had stopped near him, he could not restrain the thoughts which pressed upon his mind, and thus gave utterance to them:—

"'Poor Toby,' said he, 'has been torn from his family, from his native land, and sold to slavery: could anything be more miserable to himself, or more criminal in others! If this crime be the act of the English captain alone, he is doubtless one of the vilest of men; but if it be that of the whole of the crew, it may have been committed by men, perhaps, not so base as might be imagined; for vice is always individual, and scarcely ever collective. Joseph's brethren could not bring themselves to slay him; while Judas, a cool, hypocritical, calculating villain, betrayed his master. A philosopher has affirmed that men are born wicked; it would be both difficult and idle to attempt to discover whether the assertion be true. This, at least, is certain, that the great mass of society is not wicked; for if the majority were determined to be criminal and to violate the laws, who would have the power to restrain or prevent them? This is the triumph of civilization; for this happy result springs from its bosom, and arises out of its nature. Sentiments are for the most part traditionary; we feel them because they were felt by those who preceded us: thus we must look to the development of human reason and of the faculties of mankind for the only key to social order, the only secret of the legislator. It is only those who wish to deceive the people and rule them for their own personal advantage that would desire to keep them in ignorance; for the more they are enlightened, the more will they feel convinced of the utility of laws, and of the necessity of defending them; and the more steady, happy, and prosperous will society become. If, however, knowledge should ever be dangerous in the multitude, it can only be when the Government in opposition to the interests of the people, drives them into an unnatural situation, or dooms the



lower classes to perish for want. In such a case, knowledge would inspire them with spirit to defend themselves, or to become criminal.

"'My code alone, from its simplicity, has been more beneficial to France than the whole mass of laws which preceded it. My schools and my system of mutual instruction are preparing generations yet unknown. Thus, during my reign, crimes were rapidly diminishing; while, on the contrary, with our neighbours in England, they have been increasing to a frightful degree. This alone is sufficient to enable any one to form a decisive judgment of the respective governments!

" 'Look at the United States, where, without any apparent force or effort, everything goes on prosperously; every one is happy and contented; and this is because the public wishes and interests are in fact the ruling power. Place the same government at variance with the will and interests of its inhabitants, and you would soon see what disturbance, trouble, and confusion, and above all, what an increase of crimes, would ensue.

" 'When I acquired the supreme direction of affairs, it was wished that I might become a Washington. Words cost nothing; and no doubt those who were so ready to express the wish did so without any knowledge of times, places, persons, or things. Had I been in America, I would willingly have been a Washington, and I should have had little merit in so being; for I do not see how I could reasonably have acted otherwise. But had Washington been in France, exposed to discord within, and invasion from without, I would have defied him to have been what he was in America; at least, he would have been a fool to attempt it, and would only have prolonged the existence of evil. For my own part, I could only have been a *Crowned Washington.* It was only in a congress of kings, in the midst of kings, yielding or subdued, that I could become so. Then and there alone, I could successfully display Washington's moderation, disinterestedness, and wisdom. I could not reasonably attain to this but by means of the *universal Dictatorship.* To this I aspired; can that be thought a crime? Can it be believed that to resign this authority would have been beyond the power of human nature? Sylla, glutted with crimes, dared to abdicate, pursued by public execration! What motive could have checked me, who would have been followed only by blessings?—But it remained for me to conquer at Moscow!—How many will hereafter regret my disasters and my fall!—But to require prematurely of me that sacrifice, for which the time had not arrived, was a vulgar absurdity; and for me to have proclaimed

or promised it, would have been taken for hypocrisy and quackery; that was not my way.—I repeat, it remained for me to conquer at Moscow!—

"'What, after all, is this poor human machine? There is not one whose exterior form is like another, or whose internal organisation resembles the rest! And it is by disregarding this truth that we are led to the commission of so many errors! Had Toby been a Brutus, he would have put himself to death: if an Æsop, he would now, perhaps, have been the governor's adviser; if an ardent and zealous christian, he would have borne his chains in the sight of God, and blessed them. As for poor Toby, he endures his misfortunes very quietly; he stoops to his work, and spends his days in innocent tranquillity.' Then, after looking at him for a few moments in silence, he turned away and said: 'Certainly it is a great step from poor Toby to a King Richard!—And yet,' continued he, as he walked along, 'the crime is not the less atrocious; for this man, after all, had his family, his happiness, and his liberty; and it was a horrible act of cruelty to bring him here to languish in the fetters of slavery.' Then, suddenly stopping short, he added:—'But I read in your eyes that you think he is not the only example of the sort in St. Helena!' And whether he felt offended at being placed on a parallel with Toby, whether he thought it necessary to raise my spirits, or whatever else might be his reason, he went on with dignity and animation: 'My dear Las Cases, there is not the least resemblance here: if the outrage is of a higher class, the victims also possess very different resources. We have not been exposed to corporal sufferings; or if that had been attempted, we have souls to disappoint our tyrants! Our situation may even have its charms! The eyes of the universe are fixed upon us! We are martyrs in an immortal cause! Millions of human beings are weeping for us: our country sighs, and glory mourns our fate! We here struggle against the oppression of the gods, and the prayers of nations are

for us!' After a pause of a few seconds he continued:—'Besides, this is not the source of my real sufferings! If I considered only myself, perhaps I should have reason to rejoice! Misfortunes are not without their heroism and their glory! Adversity was wanting to my career! Had I died on the throne, enveloped in the dense atmosphere of my power, I should to many have remained a problem; but now misfortune will enable all to judge of me without disguise.' "

Napoleon quitted Briars, on the 18th, to take up his abode at Longwood. This fresh habitation presented him with more conveniences, but he was not the less subjected to annoyances and vexations on the part of his gaolers. Sentinels were posted beneath his windows, and he was surrounded by the meanest and most humiliating precautions. He ordered Montholon to write to the Admiral on the subject, not wishing to interfere directly with any of these things. "If the Admiral were to present himself to me to-morrow," said he, "in spite of my just resentment, he would find my countenance as serene, and my temper as composed, as usual. This would not be the effect of dissimulation on my part, but merely the fruit of experience. I recollect that Lord Whitworth once filled Europe with the report of a long conversation that he had had with me, scarcely a word of which was true. But that was my fault; and it taught me to be more cautious in future. The Emperor has governed too long not to know that he must not commit himself to the discretion of any one who may have it in his power to say falsely: '*The Emperor told me so and so;*' while the Emperor may not have the means of either affirming or contradicting the statement.

"One witness is as good as another. It is, therefore, necessary to employ some one who may be enabled to tell the narrator that, in attributing such and such words to the Emperor, he lies, and that he is ready to give him satisfaction for this expression, which the Emperor himself cannot do."

In one of his rides towards the close of December, he was

obliged to dismount on account of the bad state of the roads, and sunk so deep in the mire, that it was only by dint of a great deal of trouble and a great deal of dirt that he succeeded in regaining *terra firma*. "Las Cases," said he, "this is a dirty adventure. If we had been lost in the mud, what would have been said in Europe. The canting hypocrites would have proved beyond a doubt, that we had been swallowed up for our crimes."

Almost all the English who sailed in these latitudes, made for St. Helena, in order to see the illustrious victim of their government. Napoleon invariably received them with much grace and dignity; and, as they found him very different from the portraits which had been drawn for them during the last twenty years, they excused themselves for having been able to credit the atrocities attributed to him. "Ah! well," said Napoleon, smiling, to one of them, "it is to your ministers that I am indebted for these favours: they inundated Europe with pamphlets and libels against me. Perhaps they might say, in excuse, that they did but reply to those which they received from France; and it must in justice be confessed that those Frenchmen who have since been seen to exult over the ruins of their country felt no hesitation in furnishing them with such articles in abundant supplies.

"Be this as it may, I was repeatedly urged during the period of my power, to adopt measures for counteracting this underhand work; but I always declined it. What advantage should I have gained by such a defence? It would have been said that I had paid for it, and that would only have discredited me still more. Another victory, another monument,—these, I said, are the best, the only answers I can make. Falsehood passes away, and truth remains! The sensible portion of the present age, and posterity in particular, will form their judgment only from facts. And what has been the consequence? Already the cloud is breaking; the light is piercing through, and my character grows clearer every day. It will soon

become the fashion in Europe to do me justice. Those who have succeeded me possess the archives of my administration and police, and the records of my tribunals: they hold in their pay, and at their disposal, those who must have been the perpetrators and the accomplices of my atrocities and crimes; yet what proofs have they brought forward? What have they made known?

"The first moments of fury being passed away, all honest and sensible men will render justice to my character; none but rogues or fools will be my enemies. I may rest at ease; the succession of events, the disputes of opposing parties, their hostile productions, will daily clear the way for the correct and glorious materials of my history. And what advantage has been reaped from the immense sums that have been paid for libels against me? Every trace of them will soon be obliterated; while my institutions and monuments will recommend me to the remotest posterity."

On the 1st January, 1816, all the companions in misfortune of the great man assembled to present him with the compliments of the season, on the occasion of the opening of the new year. Napoleon, to whom this solemnity recalled the glorious days of his power, allowed nothing to be perceived of the comparison which he must have made between the familiar reception of Longwood, and the pompous audiences of the Tuileries. He received affectionately the courtiers in misfortune, and made them all breakfast with him. "You are but a handful in a corner of the world," he said to them, "and your consolation at least, should be to love each other."

Every day, sailors were perceived about Longwood who braved the sentinels and the severe prohibitions, in order to approach the dwelling and behold the person of the emprisoned hero.

"See the effect of imagination! How powerful is its influence! Here are people who do not know me—who have never seen me; they have only heard me spoken of; and



And the same caprice is to be found in all countries, in all ages, and in both sexes! This is fanaticism! Yes, imagination rules the world!"

The distance which Napoleon was able to ride, could be accomplished in half an hour; therefore he was soon obliged to give over. Sometimes an English officer was offended at being obliged to remain behind, who was desirous of joining company with the Emperor, sometimes there was a soldier, or a corporal, who did not well understand his orders, and kept him in check.

Climate and captivity were not long in producing their fruits. The health of the Emperor visibly altered. His constitution was not so strong as had been commonly sup-

posed. According to the expression of one of his companions in misfortune, "his body was far from being of iron,* it was only his mind." Doctor O'Meara, an English physician attended him, and subsequently completely won his confidence.

The papers successively brought to St. Helena the news of the death of Murat, of the rising and punishment of Porlier, of the trial and execution of Ney. When Las Cases read, in presence of the Emperor, the journal which announced the tragical death of the King of Naples, Napoleon suddenly seized him by the hand, at the same time exclaiming without uttering another word: "The Calabrians have been more humane, more generous than those who have sent me here."

He was by no means surprised at the attempt of Porlier: "On my return from the Island of Elba," said he, "those of the Spaniards who had been most embittered against my invasion, who had acquired the greatest renown by their resistance, addressed themselves directly to me: 'they had fought against me,' they said, 'as their tyrant; they came to implore my assistance as a liberator.' They asked of me but a small sum, to free themselves and produce in the Peninsula a revolution similar to mine. If I had conquered at Waterloo, I should have gone to their succour. This circumstance explains the present attempt, which I doubt not will be renewed. Ferdinand, in his fury, has determined on holding his sceptre firmly, one of these fine mornings it will slip through his hand like an eel."

He considered that Ney had been badly attacked, and as ill defended, and was indigant at a condemnation which violated a sacred capitulation. The execution of the Marshal was not less severely censured by the prisoner at St. Helena than it has been, later, in the bosom of the Chamber of Peers, by a great writer and illustrious general.

* Nevertheless, there are few men who have endured such great fatigue as Napoleon. Among his extraordinary rides, is mentioned that from Valladolid to Burgos (thirty-five Spanish leagues), which he accomplished at full gallop in five hours and a half.

Passing afterwards to the refusal of pardon which Madame Lavalette had met with and the escape of her husband, the Emperor exhibited the imprudence of the inexorable policy of the Bourbons.

" But the saloons of Paris," he observed, " exhibited the same passions as the clubs; the nobility were a new version of the Jacobins. Europe, moreover, was in a state of complete anarchy; the code of political immorality was openly followed; whatever fell into the hands of the sovereigns was turned to the advantage of each of them. At least in my time I was the butt of all the accusations of this kind. The sovereigns then talked of nothing but principles and virtue; but now," added he, " that they are victorious and without control, they practise unblushingly all the wrongs which they themselves then reprobated. What resource and what hope were there then left for nations and for morality? Our countrywomen at least," he observed, " have rendered their sentiments illustrious: Madame Labédoyère was on the point of dying from grief, and these papers shew us that Madame Ney has displayed the most courageous and determined devotion. Madame Lavalette is become the heroine of Europe."

Napoleon did not confine himself to contemporary politics. When, with a prompt and rapid eye, he had overrun Europe, he was pleased to fall back upon the past, and make the remarkable men and events of history rise up before him, whose judgments he revised with his powerful reason and incomparable sagacity. In one of his excursions in the domain of antiquity, he chanced to halt at the obstinate struggle of the plebeians and patricians of ancient Rome, and pointed out the errors and contradictions which posterity had consecrated in regard to the Gracchi.

" History," said he, "presents these Gracchi, in the aggregate, as seditious people, revolutionists, criminals; and, nevertheless, allows it to appear, in detail, that they had virtues; that they were gentle, disinterested, moral men; and, besides,

they were the sons of the illustrious Cornelia, which, to great minds, ought to be a strong primary presumption in their favour. How then can such a contrast be accounted for? It is thus; the Gracchi generously devoted themselves in behalf of the rights of the oppressed people, against a tyrannical senate; and their great talents and noble character endangered a ferocious aristocracy, which triumphed, murdered, and calumniated them. The historians of a party have transmitted their characters in the same spirit. Under the Emperors it was necessary to continue in the same manner; the bare mention of the rights of the people, under a despotic master was a blasphemy, a downright crime. Afterwards, the case was the same under a feudal system, which was so fruitful in petty despots. Such, no doubt, is the fatality which has attended the memory of the Gracchi. Throughout succeeding ages their virtues have never ceased to be considered crimes; but at this day, when, possessed of better information, we have thought it expedient to reason, the Gracchi may and ought to find favour in our eyes.

"In that terrible struggle between the aristocracy and democracy, which has been renewed in our times—in that exasperation of ancient landed property against modern industry, which still ferments throughout Europe, there is no doubt that if the aristocracy should triumph by force, it would point out many Gracchi in all directions, and treat them as mercifully as its predecessors did the Gracchi of Rome."

At the moment when Napoleon pronounced these words, the fury of the contemporary aristocracy was but a mere hypothesis. The reaction of 1815 desolated France; the blood of Labédoyère, of Ney, of Chartran and of Mouton-Duvernet joined that of Brune and Ramel. The executors of the great works of the stranger and of the crown, completed the task of the assassins which had issued from the populace of certain southern cities.

And was it not the most illustrious and the most formidable

of democrats whom the aristocracy had determined on emprisoning at St. Helena, in order there slowly to assassinate him? Napoleon on his rock, reminds Las Cases of the services which he has rendered kings, whom he accuses of ingratitude, and boasts "of having turned against them, that which they let loose on him;" this may serve to explain his fall, and justify his abandonment by the people as the unexpected rigour of Providence; but the kings did not the less persist in pursuing in him "the first soldier, the great representative, the Messiah of the democratic principles, the glorious title with which he was so justly invested, on which he laid such store at Longwood, and which he must always have held preferable to that of saviour of royalty and benefactor of the aristocracy.

However, the fatal idea which had prepared his decay, sometimes recurred to him from the depths of the abyss. The revolutionary Messiah still wished to become the mediator of the past and the future, the man of kings and nations. This incompatibility which we have sought to demonstrate, was especially lost sight of on the occasion of the declaration of the sovereigns, on the 2nd August, 1813.

"If the sovereigns of Europe act wisely, and should succeed in completely restoring order, we shall not be worth the money and the trouble which it must cost to keep us here, and they will get rid of us. But our captivity may still be prolonged for some years, perhaps three, four, or five. Otherwise, setting aside the fortuitous events which are beyond the reach of human foresight, I calculate only on two uncertain chances of our liberation: first, that the sovereigns may stand in need of me to assist in putting down rebellion among their subjects; and secondly, the people of Europe may require my aid in the contest that may arise between them and their monarchs. I am the natural arbiter and mediator in the immense conflict between the present and the past. I have always aspired to be the supreme judge in this cause. My

administration at home and my diplomacy abroad all tended to this great end. The issue might have been brought about more easily and promptly; but fate ordained otherwise. Finally, there is a last chance, which perhaps is the most probable of all; I may be wanted to check the power of the Russians; for, in less than ten years, all Europe may perhaps be overrun with Cossacks, or subject to republican government. Such however are the statesmen who brought about my overthrow."

The Emperor afterwards observed that the declaration of the 2nd August, as far as concerned himself, was difficult to explain from the personal characters of the monarchs:

"The Emperor Francis," said he, "is a pious sovereign, and I am his son-in-law.

"As for Alexander, we once loved each other.

"With regard to the King of Prussia, I doubtless did him much harm, but I might have done him much more; and after all, might he not have found real glory and self-satisfaction in distinguishing himself by generosity?

"As to England, it is to the animosity of her ministers that I am indebted for all. But it remained for the Prince Regent to observe and interfere, or to be branded as a fool, and a protector of vulgar malignity."

"One thing however is certain, namely: that the Allied Sovereigns have compromised, degraded, and lost themselves, by their treatment of me."

Great man, let then the sovereigns compromise, degrade, and lose themselves through you! that appertains still to your mission; for you were not sent to "strengthen the kings," although you never gave utterance to a like sentiment, and have sometimes acted in this manner, but, on the contrary, in order to continue the demolition of the monarchical edifice, and in order to contribute to the ruin of royalty, by your reverses equally as by your triumphs!

The sovereign decision which so deeply excited the indig-

nation of the Emperor, and which led him to recall that which he had done for its august signers, was thus conceived:—

"Napoleon Bonaparte being in the power of the Allied Sovereigns, their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, have agreed by virtue of the stipulations of the treaty of the 25th of March, 1815, on the measures best calculated to preclude the possibility of his making any attempt to disturb the peace of Europe.

"ART. I.—Napoleon Bonaparte is considered by the Powers who signed the treaty of the 20th of March last as their prisoner.

ART. 2.—His safeguard is specially intrusted to the British government.

"The choice of the place and the measures which may best ensure the object of the present stipulation, are reserved to his Britannic Majesty.

ART. 3.—The Imperial courts of Austria and Russia and the Royal court of Prussia shall appoint Commissioners to reside in the place which his Britannic Majesty's Government shall assign as the residence of Napoleon Bonaparte, and who, without being responsible for his security, shall assure themselves of his presence.

"ART. 4.—His most Christian Majesty is invited in the name of the four courts above mentioned, also to send a French commissioner to the place of Napoleon Bonaparte's detention.

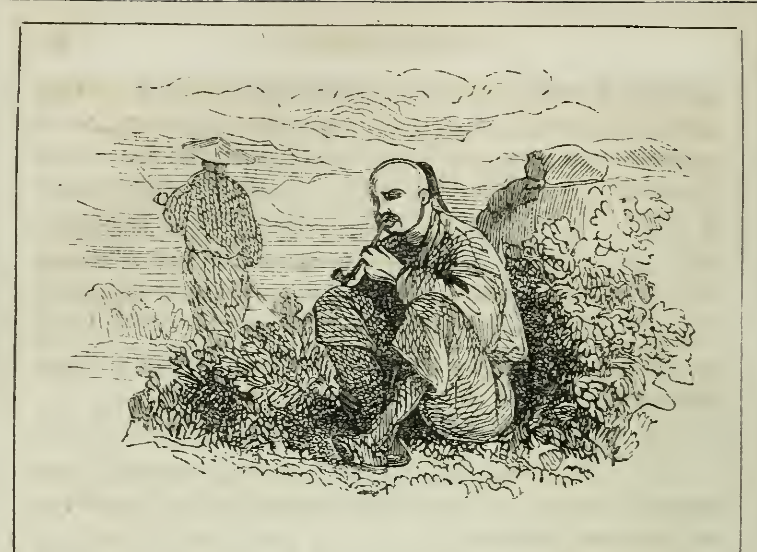
"Art. 5.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland pledges himself to fulfil the engagements assigned to him by the present convention.

"ART. 6.—The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged in the space of a fortnight, or sooner if possible.

"In virtue of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention, and have affixed their seals thereto.

"Given at Paris on the 20th August, in the year of our Lord 1815."

The English government having thus consented to become the instrument of the hatred of ancient Europe, in contempt of the law of nations, it only remained for the royal gaoler at Windsor to seek in his turn a subaltern instrument, which nature had formed expressly for the execution of the sentence pronounced by the sovereigns; his ministers Castlereagh and Bathurst found Hudson Lowe.



CHAPTER XXV.

Hudson Lowe. Daily struggle of Napoleon against the pretensions and odious proceedings of the Governor. Sufferings and decline of the Emperor's health. Las Cases forced to separate from Napoleon. Last years of the Emperor. His death.



UDSON LOWE! at this name what feelings arise in each honest breast.... Keith and Cockburn, you had a spark of admiration left for glory, some respect for genius, some sympathy for renowned and unfortunate greatness: but you ill-comprehended your mission! You thought naturally enough that you had been charged to watch over and guard the hero of France.... Honour to your understanding. A gaoler was coming who comprehended better the intentions of his august

masters; he will teach you, himself, that which vengeance and fear,* required of you, and that which they could obtain, in a few years, from a climate like that of St. Helena.

The new governor disembarked at St. Helena on the 14th April, 1816. At the first interview, Napoleon considered him repulsive. "He is hideous," said the Emperor, "he has a most villainous countenance. But we must not decide too hastily; the man's disposition may perhaps make amends for the unfavourable impression which his face produces; this is not impossible."

The first measure which Hudson Lowe took was to exact from the companions in exile of the Emperor, a formal declaration, shewing that they remained voluntarily at Longwood, and that they would submit to all the conditions which the captivity of Napoleon might render necessary.

Hudson Lowe afterwards pleased himself by officiously causing works to pass under the eyes of the Emperor, in which his reign and his character were represented under the most false and the blackest colours; one of these libels issued from the pen of the Abbé de Pradt: this was the ambassador to Warsaw. But malice of this kind was but an innocent joke for a man in Sir Hudson's situation. He determined on making all the servants of the Emperor appear before him, in order that he might question each of them separately as to the genuineness of their resolution to remain at St. Helena, as if he had suspected the sincerity and freedom of their written declarations. This requisition galled Napoleon, who finished, nevertheless, by resigning himself to this fresh outrage. When the Governor had finished this insolent interrogatory, he accosted Las Cases and Montholon, telling them that he was satisfied, and "that he should advise his government that all had signed of their own free will." He then began to boast the site of

* No one better exhibited and characterized this fear than M. de Chateaubriand, when he addressed to the tribunate of the Chamber of Peers, these remarkable words: "The grey great-coat and the hat of Napoleon, placed on the end of a stick on the Brest shore, would make Europe all run to arms."

Longwood, and decided that the Emperor and his people were wrong in complaining; that after all, they were not so badly off. Some one remarked that there was not a single tree which could afford a little shade beneath so burning a sky, when he maliciously replied: "We will plant some!" and retired without adding another word.

The health of the Emperor became more and more altered. At the close of April, he found himself forced to renounce the little liberty which was allowed him for his walks, and even to confine himself to his room. The Governor came



to visit him there. The illustrious invalid received him stretched on a sofa, and only partially dressed. His first words were to announce to Sir Hudson that he intended to

protest against the convention of the 2nd August. After having reminded him that he had refused to retire either to Russia or to Austria, and that he had not wished to defend France to the last extremity, which would probably have procured him advantageous conditions, he added: "Your conduct will be recorded in history to your eternal disgrace. Yet there is an avenging Providence; sooner or later you will receive your punishment! It will not be long before your posterity, your laws, will expiate your crime! .... Your ministers have sufficiently proved, by their instructions, that they wish to get rid of me! Why did not the Kings who proscribed me openly decree my death? One act would have been as legal as the other! A speedy termination to my sufferings would have shewn more energy than the lingering death to which they have doomed me."

The Governor replied by taking refuge behind his instructions, which even required, he said, that an officer should always accompany the Emperor. "If they had thus enforced it," replied Napoleon, "I should never have left my chamber." Sir Hudson then announced that a vessel was on its way to St. Helena, bringing a wooden palace, furniture, and stores of provisions, which would alleviate the situation of the inhabitants of Longwood. But the Emperor was little moved at the prospect held out to him, and complained bitterly that the English ministry deprived him of every kind of consolation, of books and papers, and what was far more cruel, of news of his wife and son. "As to the provisions, the furniture, and the house, that are intended for me," continued he, "you and I, Sir, are soldiers, we know how to value these things. You have been in my native city, perhaps in the very house occupied by my family. Though it was not the worst on the island—though I have no reason to be ashamed of my family circumstances, yet you know what they were. But though I have occupied a throne, and have disposed of crowns, I have not forgotten my early condition, and my couch and camp-bed."

On leaving, the Governor who had several times proposed sending his own physician, during the conversation, renewed his offer, which was constantly refused. Napoleon immediately related that which had passed between him and Sir Hudson; at the close of his recital, and after a moment's silence, he said: "How mean and disagreeable is the expression of the Governor's countenance! I never saw anything like it in my life!... I should be unable to drink my coffee if this man were left for a moment alone beside me.... My dear Las Cases, they have sent me worse than a gaoler!...."

And as though the infamous treatment of his enemies, were not sufficient to destroy and torment his great existence, domestic troubles sometimes rendered the shafts which pierced Napoleon on all sides, more poignant. Dissension began to start up among the heroes of fidelity. Las Cases says: "There occasionally arose among us transient misunderstandings and disputes, which vexed and annoyed the Emperor. He adverted to this topic."

"'You should endeavour to form but one family,' said he. 'You have followed me only with the view of assuaging my sorrow. Ought not this feeling to subdue every other consideration?'"

On one occasion when a serious quarrel had arisen between two of the servants who were devoted to his ill-fortune, the Emperor deeply afflicted at hearing them talk of a duel, addressed to them this strong and touching admonition:

"You say you have followed me to render yourselves agreeable to me, is it not so? Be brothers, otherwise you will but plague me! You wish to render me happy? Be brothers! otherwise you will only be a punishment to me!

"You talk of fighting, and that in my presence! Do I then no longer need all your cares, and is not the eye of the stranger fixed upon us? I wish that every one here should be animated with my spirit.... I desire to see every one happy around me; and especially that each should partake of

the few enjoyments which are left us. Even our little Emanuel yonder must come in for his share."

The health of the Emperor becoming daily worse, and requiring greater care, he wished to have an explanation with Dr. O'Meara, in order to know if he would render his services as physician of the English government attached to a state-prison, or as personal medical adviser. The doctor nobly and frankly replied that he understood he was to be Napoleon's physician, and from that moment he was honoured with the full confidence of his patient.

The Governor, after having in vain invited *General Bonaparte* to dinner, repaired to Longwood, towards the middle of the month of May, to inform his prisoner that the wooden house had arrived. He was but ill received by the Emperor, who declared to him, that despite certain annoyances, the Admiral had merited his perfect confidence, and that it did not seem that his successor was desirous of inspiring the same feeling. Sir Hudson galled by this reproach, said that he had not come to receive a lesson.

"But," replied the Emperor, "that is no proof that you do not need one. You tell me, Sir, that your instructions are much more rigid than those that were given to the Admiral. Do they direct that I should suffer death by the sword or by poison? No act of atrocity would surprise me on the part of your ministers! If my death is determined on, execute your orders. I know not how you will administer the poison; but, as for putting me to death by the sword, you have already found the means of doing that. If you should attempt, as you have threatened, to violate the sanctuary of my abode, I give you fair warning that the brave 53rd shall enter only by trampling over my corse."

Napoleon's health having somewhat improved, he was requested to profit by it to resume his rides. He refused at first, not wishing to accept of the narrow limits which were traced out for him, and "which compelled him to turn about

as though he were in a riding-school." He ended, however, by yielding, and passed, on the return from his ride, before the English camp, the soldiers of which quitted all their occupations to form themselves in a line and salute him. "What European soldier," said he, in reference to this, "would not be moved at my approach?"

Sir Hudson Lowe seemed to fear that the Emperor did not sufficiently perceive that he was a prisoner at Longwood, wherefore he applied himself daily to remind him of it, by some offence, some vexation, some fresh annoyance. First, he withheld the letters from Europe, although they had arrived open, and by unsuspected means, under pretence that they had not passed under the eyes of a secretary of state. He afterwards caused a note of Madame Bertrand's to be seized, for having been written without his authorization, and he officially forbade the Emperor and the persons of his household from holding any communication, written or verbal, with the inhabitants of the island, unless his approbation had first been received.

The English ministry, however, had converted into a law the diplomatic decision of the 2nd August,* touching the captivity of Napoleon. The Governor, having received the act of parliament on this subject, found in it another opportunity for tormenting his prisoner. He joined to the publication of the Bill some offensive reflections on the expenses of the Emperor, the object of which was to cause the faithful servants who had not been able to separate from their master, to be considered too numerous. Thus vexed, harassed, stabbed with pins, who had passed his life in braving the cannon, the Emperor gave way more than ever to *ennui*, and kept himself shut up in his chamber. He never went out except occasionally to see Madame de Montholon, who was kept at home by

* Lord Holland protested nobly against this Bill, at the second reading; the Duke of Sussex, brother of the Prince Regent, did himself equal honour by his protestation at the third reading.

recent confinement. This lady had a son eight or ten years of age named Tristan. The Emperor was one day amusing himself by repeating fables to him, and as the child confessed that he did not work every day :—"Do you not eat every day?" said the Emperor to him. "Yes, sire."—"Well, then, you ought to work every day; no one should eat who does not work."—"Oh! if that be the case, I will work every day," said the child, quickly. "Such is the influence of the belly," said the Emperor, patting that of little Tristan. "It is hunger that makes the world move. Come, my little man, if you



are a good boy, we'll make a page of you."—"But I won't be one," said Tristan pouting and looking sulky.

The Balcombe family often visited Napoleon, who evinced

towards them the greatest interest and esteem. The grand master in the art of battles, who, at Briars, had not deemed it derogatory to his genius and glory to join in a game of blind-man's-buff with the young people, feared not, at Longwood to compromise the lustre of his name and the dignity of his character, by continuing this mild and innocent familiarity, and by undertaking to teach one of the Miss Balcombe's to play at billiards.

The commissioners from the European powers having arrived at St. Helena, they desired to be received by Napoleon. Admiral Malcolm, in a visit which he made at Longwood, spoke of it to the Emperor, who was well pleased with this brave sailor, but expressed to him the impossibility of admitting the commissioners of the allies.

"After all, sir," said he, "you and I are men. I appeal to you, is it possible that the Emperor of Austria, whose daughter I married, who implored that union on his knees, who keeps back my wife and my son, should send me his commissioner, without a line for myself, without the smallest scrap of a bulletin with respect to my son's health? Can I receive him with consistency? Can I have anything to communicate to him? I may say the same thing of the commissioner sent by Alexander, who gloried in calling himself my friend, with whom, indeed, I carried on political wars, but had no personal quarrel. It is a fine thing to be a sovereign, but we are not on that account the less entitled to be treated as men; I lay claim to no other character at present! Can they all be destitute of feeling? Be assured, sir, that when I object to the title of general, I am not offended. I decline it merely because it would be an acknowledgment that I have not been Emperor; and, in this respect, I advocate the honour of others more than my own. I advocate the honour of those with whom I have been, in that rank, connected by treaties, by family and political alliances. The only one of those commissioners, whom I might perhaps receive, would be that of Louis XVIII.,

who owes me nothing. That commissioner was a long time my subject, he acts merely in conformity to circumstances, independent of his option; and I should accordingly receive him to-morrow, were I not apprehensive of the misrepresentations that would take place, and of the false colouring that would be given to the circumstance."

The Admiral also gave the Emperor some papers announcing the death of the Empress of Austria, and the sentence passed on several of the generals comprised in the proscription of the 24th July. Cambronne had been acquitted, and Bertrand condemned to death. At the same time the Emperor received letters from his mother, from his sister Pauline, and his brother Lucien.

On the eve of St. Napoleon, the Emperor fancied he should like to go partridge-shooting; but, being unable to proceed far on foot, he was obliged to mount his horse. In the evening, at dinner, having been reminded that it was the eve of the 15th August, he said with emotion: "To-morrow, in Europe, many healths will be wafted to St. Helena; many vows, many sentiments will traverse the Ocean." On the following day he breakfasted with all his faithful servants, beneath a large and beautiful tent which he had ordered to be pitched in the garden, and remained all day in the midst of them.

The overwhelming reproaches, the direct scourging which Sir Hudson Lowe had been compelled to submit to from the mouth of Napoleon, served but to envenom his hatred, and to render his *surveillance* more tyrannical. Mr. Hobhouse had addressed his book on the Hundred Days to the Emperor, with his inscription in gilt letters: "To Napoleon the Great!" this was intercepted by the Governor, under the pretext that Castlereagh was spoken ill of in the work! and a few days after this odious procedure, he dared to present himself before the Emperor, whom he surprised in the garden of his habitation, when he endeavoured to justify himself by saying, that if he were better known he would be judged less severely.

This effrontery only served to occasion him fresh humiliations, in the presence too of Admiral Malcolm.

"You never had the command of any but foreign deserters, of Piedmontese, Corsicans, and Sicilians, all renegadoes, and traitors to their country; the dregs and scum of Europe. If you had commanded Englishmen; if you were one yourself, you would shew respect to those who have a right to be honoured." At another time, the Emperor declared, that there was a moral courage, as necessary as courage on the field of battle; that Sir Hudson did not exercise it here with regard to him, in dreaming only of his escape, instead of employing the only real, prudent, reasonable, and sensible means for preventing it. The Emperor also told him that, although his body was in the hands of evil-minded men, his soul was as lofty and independent as when at the head of 400,000 men, or on the throne, when he disposed of kingdoms.

To the article respecting the reduction of his expenses, and the money which was required of the Emperor, he answered: "All those details are very painful to me; they are mean. You might place me on the burning pile of Montezuma or Guatimozin without extracting from me gold which I do not possess. Besides, who asks you for anything? Who entreats you to feed me? When you discontinue your supply of provisions, those brave soldiers, whom you see there," pointing with his hand, to the camp of the 53rd, "will take pity on me; I shall place myself at the grenadiers' table, and they will not, I am confident, drive away the first, the oldest soldier of Europe.

Finding himself thus an object of aversion and contempt with Napoleon and all the French at Longwood, Sir Hudson Lowe endeavoured to associate the English at St. Helena with the hostile position which he had created by his proceedings in regard to the Emperor and his people. He consequently spread about that if Napoleon refused to receive him, it was only on account of his hatred of the English nation, and this

hatred extended to the officers of the 53rd, whom he did not wish to see. This report having reached the ears of the Emperor, he immediately sent for the oldest officer of the *corps*, Captain Poppleton, whom he assured that he had never said nor thought anything which could justify the assertion of the governor. "I am not an old woman," said he, "I love a brave soldier who has undergone the baptism of fire, to whatever nation he belongs."

He afterwards sent for Dr. O'Meara, under the pretext of receiving more precise information as to the health of his prisoner, but with the real intention of exclaiming violently against him, on the subject of their last interview. "Tell General Bonaparte," he exclaimed, bursting with anger, "that he should pay more attention to his behaviour, since, if he persist in it, I shall be forced to take measures to augment the restrictions which are already exercised." He afterwards accused Napoleon of having caused the death of several millions of men, and ended by saying, "that he regarded Ali Pacha as a much more respectable scoundrel than Bonaparte."

The Emperor, indeed, reproached himself with the violence of his expressions to the governor. "It would have been more worthy of me," said he, "more consistent and more dignified, to have expressed all these things with perfect composure; they would besides have been more impressive." Dr. O'Meara assured him that Sir Hudson Lowe had promised never again to enter Longwood.

Verbal protestations, however, energetic and eloquent as they may have been, did not suffice for Napoleon to transmit to contemporary generations and to posterity the sentence which, in his turn, he had, from the summit of his rock, pronounced against his judges, in the exercise of that moral supremacy which justice and genius give rise to, and which a political shipwreck cannot destroy. He therefore charged Count Montholon to forward an official document to the governor, in which his grievances were developed,

and his reproofs expressed with great power and logic.

Sir Hudson Lowe ceased not to exclaim against the expence of Longwood. Every day he gave rise to miserable retrenchments in the provisions supplied to the Emperor's table, without fearing to compromise his authority in ignoble details, for a few bottles of wine or two or three pounds of meat. He proposed, moreover, to augment the expenditure of Napoleon and his suite, provided the surplus passed through his hands; and threatened to effect retrenchments, if his proposition was refused; which caused Las Cases to say in his journal:—"They barter our very existence." The Emperor did not wish to mix himself up in a debate of this nature, and desired that no communication might be made to him on the subject.

Sir Hudson, however, realized his menace: and one day when the Emperor had dined in his own chamber, he surprised his officers at the general table, with barely sufficient to eat. He immediately ordered that a part of his plate should be sold every month, to make up for the retrenchments of the Governor.

Sir Hudson Lowe, not satisfied with having reduced the Emperor to sell his property, determined to make this circumstance a fresh source of inconvenience to his prisoner. As there were purchasers who disputed the advantage of possessing something which had belonged to the great man, which had occasioned even as much as a hundred guineas being offered for a single plate, the governor determined that no plate should be sold, excepting to the person whom he should appoint. The Emperor, however, on his part had already thought of putting an end to this objection, by ordering that all the marks which could indicate that the broken plate had belonged to his household, should be effaced. He preserved only the little massive eagles which surmounted all the covers.

These daily vexations made great inroads on the health of Napoleon. The alteration of his features had made such alarming progress and so greatly altered his physiognomy,

that his resemblance to his eldest brother became every day more striking. His sufferings and falling away, did not, however, hinder his continuing the exercises and intellectual labours which he had undertaken since his arrival in the island. On the one hand, he continued the study of English, which Las Cases had undertaken to teach him; and he still occupied himself with his dictations either to his generals, or to Las Cases and his son, on his campaigns and all the memorable circumstances of his life. On the same day on which Sir Hudson Lowe signified his last requisitions on the subject of the plate, he dictated the battle of Marengo to General Gourgaud, and busied himself with reading over, with Las Cases, the battle of Arcola which he had previously dictated to him. Las Cases says:—

"The perusal of this account of Arcola awakened the Emperor's ideas respecting what he called "that beautiful theatre, Italy." He ordered us to follow him into the drawing-room, where he dictated to us for several hours. He had caused his immense map of Italy, which covered the greatest part of the drawing-room, to be spread open on the floor, and having laid himself down upon it, he went over it on his hands and knees, with a compass and a red pencil in his hand, comparing and measuring the distance with a long piece of string, of which the end was held by one of us. "It is thus," said he to me, laughing at the posture in which I saw him, "that a country should be measured in order to form a correct idea of it, and lay down a good plan of a campaign."

After the numerous outrages and persecutions of which he had been guilty towards the Emperor, and the many humiliations which he had received, Sir Hudson Lowe still demanded to see him; but the Emperor was inflexible, and persisted in replying that he would have no further meeting. The Governor then decided upon sending to him, by means of Dr. O'Meara, a letter in which he declared that he had never had any intention of wounding the feelings of, or insulting *General*



Bonaparte; which, he said, gave him the right to demand "an apology from him, on account of the immoderate language which he had used towards him at their last interview." Sir Hudson Lowe also wished for an apology from General Bertrand, who had spared him no less in a recent conversation. "The Emperor," says O'Meara, "smiled with disdain at the idea of making excuses to Sir Hudson Lowe."

All the restrictions to which the Governor wished to subject the Emperor, have not yet been mentioned. He declared, by virtue of his omnipotence throughout the whole extent of the prison confided to his keeping, that Napoleon could not leave the high-road, enter into any house, nor speak to any person whom he should meet during his walks or rides.

It was afterwards explained that the restrictions imposed on *General Bonaparte*, applied equally to the persons of his suite.

This aggravation of a system already so rigorous, could, at first, scarcely be credited at Longwood. The Doctor was charged to obtain a distinct explanation from the Governor on this subject. Sir Hudson Lowe gave this without hesitation, and without seeking to excuse himself for the revolting measures; and as he was busily engaged with the official protestation which M. de Montholon had addressed to him, he wished to know if this energetic denunciation had been sent to London and to the rest of Europe, and if there existed any copies of it in the island. On the reply of O'Meara in the affirmative, he evinced the greatest uneasiness.

Napoleon expected every thing from Sir Hudson, and had expressed this to him at their first interviews. The last measure, however, irritated him as if it had been unforeseen by him, and he hesitated to believe that any English minister had ordered it, although told him through O'Meara, that he did nothing which was not according to the instructions of his government. "I am certain," said he, "that no other minister save Lord Bathurst would give his consent to this last act of tyranny."

In giving vent to his complaints, Napoleon said, "that his life was abridged by irritation." His condition became worse every day; the fever gained upon him, and he experienced a general illness. None of his companions in misfortune would abandon him, hard as the conditions of Sir Hudson Lowe had become. Consequently they sent back to the governor their signed declarations, such as he had demanded it, always substituting "the Emperor Napoleon for Napoleon Bonaparte." Sir Hudson Lowe refused to adhere to this change, and returned the declaration to General Bertrand in order that it might be altered as it originally stood. Napoleon, informed of this squabble, demanded that an end should be put to it by a

refusal to sign, and that they should allow themselves to be transported to the Cape.

The Governor, indeed, came to Longwood to inform General Bertrand, that since the Generals, Las Cases, the officers and domestics refused to sign the declaration as he required it, they would all be immediately sent to the Cape of Good Hope.

This resolution, the execution of which could no longer be doubted, produced the effect which the Governor had expected. The men who were resigned to a distant exile, and a strict confinement, in order to share the lot of the hero whom they admired and cherished above everything, were compelled to submit to this arbitrary proceeding rather than meet with the separation with which Sir Hudson Lowe threatened them. Without the Emperor's knowledge, they repaired after midnight to Captain Poppleton, and all signed the act drawn up by the Governor, with the exception of Santini, who persisted in disacknowledging everything in which his master was not styled by the title of Emperor.

This fresh testimony of the devotion felt towards Napoleon by his faithful servants did not surprise him. "They would have signed *tyrant Bonaparte*," said he, "or any other ignominious title, to remain here with me, in misery, rather than return to Europe, where they might have lived in splendour." The Emperor, moreover, agreed with Doctor O'Meara, that it would be ridiculous on his part, if the English ministers did not compel him to it by affecting to refuse him this title to style himself Emperor, in the position in which he found himself. "I should resemble," said he, "one of those poor unfortunates in Bedlam, who imagines himself to be a king in the midst of his chains and straw." But it was the right of the French people, rather than any vain interest, which rendered him inflexible on this point.

The hatred of the Governor for Napoleon extended itself to all the French at Longwood, but it exhibited an especial intensity and energy of character in regard to Las Cases, in

whom Hudson Lowe already beheld the indiscreet revealer of his mean vengeance, and daily infamies. In order to get rid of this inconvenient observer, Sir Hudson bethought himself of taking from him a young mulatto who was in his service and who afterwards repaired furtively to Longwood, to offer to take charge of all letters and messages which his old master might wish to transmit to Europe. Las Cases, who believed in the frankness and honour of the young man, confided to him among others, a letter for Lucien Bonaparte. Sir Hudson Lowe immediately seized this. Las Cases had fallen into the snare; the ungracious gaoler triumphed; the law of terror which he had imposed on the inhabitants of Longwood was about to be applied to him among them of whom he had the greatest desire to rid himself. Las Cases was taken away, at the end of November, 1816, and placed in confinement at St. Helena. Sir Hudson Lowe, after having visited his papers, caused him to be interrogated, and ended by ordering his transportation to the Cape.* Fidelity, the victim of treachery, merited consolation. Napoleon thought of this, and wrote to Las Cases in prison; but his letter was withheld by the Governor, and it only reached its address after the death of the great man.

Gourgaud, between whom and Las Cases there had been some of the bad understanding spoken of in the Memorial, would not permit Sir Hudson Lowe's victim to depart, without shewing him that the heart had had nothing to do with the little disagreements which had arisen between them. He therefore asked to accompany Bertrand, who had obtained leave to see Las Cases, and they repaired together to bid farewell to their unfortunate companion, whose voluntary exile had been commuted into a frightful transportation.†

* Dr. O'Meara having assayed to soften Sir Hudson Lowe, by representing to him the critical state of young Las Cases's health: "Well! sir," impatiently answered the Governor, "and in what way will the death of a child affect politics?"

† Transported at first to the Cape, Las Cases afterwards obtained a passage to Europe, where he experienced many annoyances and persecutions.

After the departure of Las Cases, the annoyances at Longwood continued as before. Dr. O'Meara always undertook to deliver the wearisome communications which Napoleon had to receive from the Governor; and he acquitted himself of this difficult task in such a manner as daily to merit the increased confidence of the Emperor, and to render himself more and more suspected by Sir Hudson. The latter seemed bent upon verifying the words of Napoleon, "that they had sent him worse than a gaoler." Persecutions were renewed daily under every shape. On the occasion of the work of Pillet on England, which the Emperor had desired to see, and which he had caused to be asked for by O'Meara, Sir Hudson took from his library a work called: "*The titled Impostors, or the History of little men of all nations, who have usurped the title of Emperor, King, and Prince.*" "You would do well," said he to the Doctor, giving him the work, "to carry also this to *General* Bonaparte. Perhaps he may find in it some character which resembles his own." Such was the man whom *the most generous* of Napoleon's enemies had chosen, worthily to represent at St. Helena the hatred and vengeance of the European kings and aristrocrats, towards the hero who had spared them all too often!

Las Cases having been sent away, the Governor of St. Helena began presently to find Dr. O'Meara an inconvenience. Several times he observed to the Doctor, "I suspect and distrust you;" and wrote in consequence to London, for him to be recalled from St. Helena.

Nevertheless, O'Meara, braving the suspicion and resentment of the Governor, did not cease to visit incessantly his illustrious patient, and to furnish him not only with the succour of his art, but with all the consolation which circumstances would allow. As he was not subjected to the rigorous conditions which the inhabitants of Longwood experienced, he allowed them to profit by his external relations, and Napoleon rewarded him for it by the strictest confidence.

Sir Hudson Lowe having been unable to procure from London the recall of the Doctor, thought of subjecting him, in his turn, to conditions so odious and vexing, that he should not be able to endure it, and seek to free himself from them by a prompt dismissal. This plan succeeded. O'Meara, confined to the circle at Longwood, deprived of the society of the English, and reduced to have no communication with any one but him who required his medical services, endeavoured to procure the revocation of this proceeding by addressing himself to Admiral Plampin, who was at Briars; but the Admiral not wishing to receive it, he determined upon obtaining his dismissal, and immediately wrote to the Governor to this effect.

The commissioners of the allied powers, however, knowing that the health of the Emperor required constant care, and fearing that the departure of Dr. O'Meara, before a successor could be procured who would be accepted by Napoleon, might produce fatal results, which would aggravate the responsibility of their respective courts, insisted with the Governor that the English physician should resume his services for the prisoner of Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe, after long and angry discussion, ended by yielding, still reserving to himself the right of renewing his calumnies and misrepresentations at London, as well as his machination and annoyances at St. Helena, in order to attain his end somewhat earlier.

He commenced by exciting the commander of the 66th regiment, which had replaced the 53rd, to exclude O'Meara from the officers' mess; and, while an active correspondence was maintained on either side, in consequence of this affront, the Doctor received a letter from the lieutenant-colonel, Edward Winyard, who announced to him, in the name of Sir Hudson Lowe, that Earl Bathurst, by an order of the 16th May, 1818, enjoined him to discontinue his services towards General Bonaparte, and to have no future interviews with the inhabitants of Longwood.

" Humanity," says O'Meara, " the duties of my profession,

and the actual state of Napoleon's health forbad me to obey these inhuman orders. My resolution was immediately taken. I determined on disobeying, whatever might be the consequences. The health of Napoleon required that I should prescribe for him, in the absence of a surgeon." The generous Doctor therefore returned to Longwood, and communicated to the Emperor the order of Earl Bathurst. "The crime will be the sooner completed," said Napoleon; "I have lived too long for them."

O'Meara proceeded to give his patient the medical instructions by which he was to regulate himself after his departure. As he finished speaking, Napoleon said to him:

"When you arrive in Europe, go yourself, or send to my brother Joseph. Tell him that I desire him to give you the packet containing the private and confidential letters which have been written to me by the Emperors Alexander and Francis, the King of Prussia, and the other sovereigns of Europe, which I confided to him at Rochefort. You will publish them in order to cover these sovereigns with shame, and disclose to the world the vile homage which these vassals rendered me, when they solicited favors or supplicated their thrones of me. When I was strong, and held the power in my hand, they courted my protection and the honour of my alliance, and licked the dust off my feet. Now that I am old, they cowardly oppress and separate me from my wife and child. I beg of you to perform that which I recommend, and if you behold calumnies published against me upon that which has taken place whilst you have been with me, and of which you can say, 'I have seen with my own eyes that it is untrue,' contradict them."

The Emperor afterwards dictated a letter to Count Bertrand, to the end of which he added a postscript in his own hand, commending O'Meara to Maria Louisa. He charged the Doctor to inform himself of his family, and to tell his relations of his position.

"You will express the sentiments I retain for them," he added; "be the interpreter of my affection to my good Louisa, to my excellent mother and Pauline. If you see my son, embrace him for me, let him never forget that he is born a French prince! Testify to Lady Holland the sentiments which I entertain of her kindness, and the esteem which I bear for her. Finally, endeavour to send me some authentic details of the manner in which my son is brought up." At these words, the Emperor, taking the Doctor by the hand, pressed him in his arms, exclaiming: "Adieu, O'Meara; we shall never more see each other. Be happy!"



All Napoleon's painful separations were not yet at an end. Scarcely had O'Meara quitted St. Helena, than Gourgaud

was in his turn forced to abandon this insalubrious island, in order to stay the progress of the malady which had consumed him for a lengthened period. When the General arrived in Europe, he spread everywhere the alarm with which he was himself filled for the Emperor's health. The family of the great man, already so profoundly afflicted, suffered the greatest uneasiness in consequence. His mother especially, on learning that the son who had given rise to her happiness, and who still constituted her glory, was attacked by an illness which might become mortal, without having a physician at his side to bestow on him the resources and relief of art; his mother, always so tender and kind towards him, was violently moved. She made Cardinal Fesch, her brother, interfere with Earl Bathurst; and the credit of his eminence obtained for Madame Lætitia authority to send Doctor Antomarchi to St. Helena, with an almoner and two other persons.

Antomarchi arrived at St. Helena on the 18th September, 1819. To his great astonishment, he was affectionately received by Sir Hudson Lowe, who nevertheless complained of the pride, the rudeness, and the protestations of *General Bonaparte.* This reception, however, did not prevent the worthy agents of the governor, Reade and Gorrequer, from fulfilling the odious task with which they were charged. Gorrequer excused himself for being forced to examine the letters, manuscripts and plans which were intended to be sent to Longwood; but Reade, without any apology, proceeded to visit minutely the effects of Antomarchi and his companions, amongst whom figured two ecclesiastics, the *abbés* Buonavita and Vignali.

Antomarchi was not equally well received at Longwood as at Plantation-House (the Governor's residence). As the Emperor had not been advised of the arrival of his new physician, neither by Cardinal Fesch, nor by any other member of his family, he, at first, hesitated to admit him. Every one coming from England, or through the medium of the English ministry,

inspired him with distrust. Antomarchi, however, dissipated his suspicions at the first interview. As he had nearly been sent away, before being able to explain himself, the Emperor said to him: "You are a Corsican; this is the sole consideration which saved you." Confidence once established, Napoleon informed himself of his mother, wife, brothers and sisters, of Las Cases, O'Meara, Lord and Lady Holland. After these divers questions, the Doctor had liberty to retire; but, after few hours, he was recalled, and then had to proceed to the examination of the symptoms presented by the state of the patient, to whose assistance he had hastened from the heart of Italy, and across the seas.

During eight months, Antomarchi struggled with his whole science and zeal, against the progress of an illness which filled the sorrowful prison of Longwood with mourning beforehand. He perceived long before the fatal day that his cares would be useless. In the middle of March, 1821, he wrote to Rome, to the Chevalier Colonna, the chamberlain of Madame Lætitia, a letter which made an approaching catastrophe be presaged. "The English papers," said he, "incessantly repeat that the Emperor's health is good; believe nothing of it; the event will prove to you whether they are sincere or well-informed."

The Emperor had kept his bed since the 17th March. The officer who was charged to inform himself daily of his presence at Longwood, seeing him no longer appear, made the Governor acquainted with it, who fancied himself betrayed, and rode round his prisoner's dwelling, in order to assure himself that he had not escaped. His search informed him of nothing of that which he was so desirous and impatient to learn, upon which he declared that, if, within twenty-four hours, his agent were not enabled to see *General Bonaparte*, he should come in person with his staff, and force an entrance to the sick man's chamber, regardless of the sad consequences which his intrusion might produce. General Montholon tried in vain to

turn him from his design, by representing to him the afflicting situation of the Emperor. Sir Hudson replied that he cared very little whether *General Bonaparte* lived or died; that his duty was to assure himself of his person, and that he should fulfil it. He was in this savage disposition, when he met with Antomarchi, who bitterly reproached him for his language and infamous proceedings. Sir Hudson would not hear further, but retired foaming with rage.

Sir Hudson, embittered by the replies of Antomarchi, and still immoveable in his brutal resolution, prepared to effect his threat, when the Emperor, at the instances of Bertrand and Montholon, consented to take a consulting physician, Dr. Arnott, who was charged to attest regularly to the agent of the Governor, the presence of the prisoner. But the cares of the gaoler were soon to be at an end. On the 19th April, Napoleon himself announced his approaching dissolution to his friends who believed him better.

"You are not deceived," he said to them, "I am better to-day; but I feel, nevertheless, that my end approaches. When I shall be dead each of you will have the sweet consolation of returning to Europe. You will again see some of your relations, others your friends, and I shall refind my brave soldiers in the Elysian fields. Yes," he continued elevating his voice, "Kleber, Desaix, Bessières, Duroc, Ney, Murat, Masséna, Berthier, all will come to meet me; they will talk to me of what we have done together. I shall relate to them the last events of my life. On seeing me, they will again become mad with enthusiasm and glory! We shall chat of our wars with the Scipios, the Hannibals, the Cæsars, the Fredericks! There will be pleasure in that! At least," he added smiling, "they must not be afraid below at seeing so many warriors together."

About this time, Dr. Arnott arrived. The Emperor received him well, spoke to him of his sufferings, of all the grievous pains he endured, and afterwards said, suddenly interrupting himself.

"It is all over, Doctor, the blow has been struck, I approach my end, I am about to restore my body to the earth. Come hither, Bertrand; translate to the gentleman that which you shall hear: it is a succession of outrages worthy of the hand which lavished them on me; tell him all, do not omit one word.

"I came to seat myself at the hearths of the British people; I demanded a loyal hospitality, and contrary to every earthly right, I was put in irons. I had received a different reception, from Alexander; the Emperor Francis would have treated me with regard; the King of Prussia even had been more generous. But it belonged to England to surprise, to urge on the sovereigns and to present to the world the unheard of spectacle of four great powers bent on the destruction of a single man. It is your ministry which has chosen this frightful rock, where



the lives of Europeans are *consumed* in less than three years, in order to end mine by assassination. And how have you treated me since I was exiled to this rock? There is no indignity, no horror, that you have not rejoiced in making me taste. The most simply family communications, those even which are forbidden to no one, you have refused me. You

have not allowed any news, any European news to reach me: my wife, even my son live no longer for me; you have kept me for six years in the torture of secrecy. On this inhospitable island, you have fixed my dwelling on the least habitable spot, that on which the murderous tropical climate is most severely felt. I have been compelled to keep myself within four walls, in an unwholesome atmosphere. I who have traversed all Europe on horseback. You have gradually and premeditately assassinated me, and the infamous Sir Hudson has been the executioner of the great works of your ministers.



You will end like the superb republic of Venice, and I, dying on this frightful rock, deprived of mine, and wanting every-

thing, I cast the approbrium and horror of my death to the reigning family of England."

This dictation exhausted the strength of the patient, who shortly after fell into a swoon. Nevertheless, two days after, he found himself sufficiently strong to rise at day-break, and pass three hours in dictating or writing. But this was merely a temporary amelioration which left no room for hope. The fever soon re-appeared, and the invalid continued to march rapidly towards the grave. On the same day (the 21st April), he sent for the *abbé* Vignali. Antomarchi thus proceeds: "Abbé," said Napoleon, "do you know what a *chambre-ardente** is?"—"Yes, Sire."—"Have you ever officiated in one?"—"Never, Sire."—"Well, you shall officiate in mine."—He then entered into the most minute detail on that subject, and gave the priest his instructions, at considerable length. His face was animated and convulsive, and I was following with uneasiness the contraction of his features, when he observed in mine I know not what expression which displeased him.—"You are above those weaknesses," said he, "but what is to be done? I am neither a philosopher nor a physician. I believe in God, and am of the religion of my father. It is not every body who *can* be an Atheist." Then turning again to the priest—"I was born a Catholic, and will fulfil the duties prescribed by the Catholic religion, and receive the assistance it administers. You will say mass every day in the chapel, and will expose the holy sacrament during forty hours. After my death, you will place your altar at my head in the room in which I shall lie in state; you will continue to say mass, and perform all the customary ceremonies, and will not cease to do so until I am under ground."

The Abbé withdrew, and I remained alone with Napoleon, who censured my supposed incredulity. "How can you carry it so far?" said he. "Can you not believe in God, whose existence every thing proclaims, and in whom the greatest

* A room in which dead bodies lie in state.

minds have believed?"—"But, Sire, I have never doubted it. I was following the pulsations of the fever, and your Majesty thought you perceived in my features an expression which they had not."—"You are a physician," replied he laughing, and then added, in an under tone, "Those people have only to do with matter; they never will believe any thing."

Despite his constant enfeeblement, the Emperor found himself sufficiently strong, in the latter part of April, to rise and appear in his drawing-room, his chamber, which was badly ventilated having become insupportable to him. The persons about him vainly offered to carry him: "No," said he, "when I am dead; at present it is sufficient if you support me."

The next day, after a bad night and despite the growing intensity of the fever, he sent for Antomarchi and gave him, with unalterable calm and serenity, the following instructions:

"After my death, which cannot be far off, I wish that you would have my body opened; I also wish, I desire that you will promise that no English physician shall touch me. If, however, you indispensibly require one, Dr. Arnott is the only person whom you are permitted to employ. I wish you to take my heart, place it in spirits of wine, and carry it to my dear Maria-Louisa. You will tell her that I loved her tenderly, that I have never ceased to love her; you will relate to her all that which you have seen, all that which relates to my situation and death. I particularly recommend you to examine my stomach well, to make a precise, detailed report of it, which you will give to my son.... The vomitings which succeed each other almost without interruption, make me believe that the stomach is that of my organs which is the most diseased, and I am inclined to believe that it is attacked by the malady which brought my father to the tomb, I mean by a cancer.... When I shall be no more, you will return to Rome; you will proceed to my mother, and my family; you will relate to them all that which you have observed relative to my situation, to my sickness and death, on this sorrow-

ful and unhappy rock; you will tell them that the great Napoleon expired in the most deplorable state, in want of everything, abandoned to himself and his glory; you will tell them that, dying, he cast on all the reigning families, the horror and opprobrium of his last moments."

Delirium, however, was shortly added to fever. This great mind, which had appeared to the world as an emanation of the divine intelligence, was subjected to the common law of humanity. "Steingel, Desaix, Massena!" exclaimed Napoleon. "Ah! the victory is decided! Go! run, press the charge! they are ours!" Then springing up, he wished to go into the garden, and fell back, at the moment when Antomarchi ran to receive him in his arms. He was conveyed to his bed, still a prey to delirium, and persisting in his desire to walk in the garden. At length, the paroxysm ceased, the fever diminished. the great man was restored to reason, and reassumed his ordinary calm. "Remember," he said to the Doctor, "that which I have charged you to perform when I shall be no more, Carefully examine the anatomy of my body, especially of the stomach. The physicians of Montpellier have announced that the cancer is hereditary in my family. May my son, at least, be saved from this cruel malady. You will see him, Doctor; you will point out to him what is requisite to be done; you will spare him the anguish which I have experienced; it is the last act of service that I expect of you." Three hours after (at noon on the 2nd May), the fever came on again, and the illustrious patient said to his physician, uttering a profound sigh: "I am very ill, Doctor; I feel it, I am going to die." These words were scarcely pronounced, when his senses failed him.

His officers, Marchand, St. Denis and Antomarchi were unremitting in their zeal, and it was with the greatest difficulty that their countrymen prevailed on them to take the repose Nature called for. The solicitude evinced by all deeply affected the Emperor.

The Abbé Vignali waited but for a word from the Emperor to administer the last offices. This word issued from the mouth of the great man, on the 3rd May, at two o'clock in the afternoon. The fever was less violent; every one left the room excepting the worthy priest; and Napoleon received the extreme unction.



An hour later the fever had augmented, but the patient still retained the use of his senses. He profited by it to say to his faithful servants:

"I am going to die," said he; "and you to return to Europe: I must give you some advice as to the line of conduct

you are to pursue. You have shared my exile; you will be faithful to my memory, and will not do anything that may injure it. I have sanctioned all principles, and infused them into my laws and acts; I have not omitted a single one. Unfortunately, however, the circumstances in which I was placed were arduous, and I was obliged to act with severity, and to postpone the execution of my plans. Our reverses occurred: I could not unbend the bow: and France has been deprived of the liberal institutions I intended to give her. She judges me with indulgence: she feels grateful for my intentions: she cherishes my name and my victories. Imitate her example; be faithful to the opinions we have defended, and to the glory we have acquired; any other course can only lead to shame and confusion."

During the following day (the 4th May) his agony continued. On the 5th, at day-break, his body announced that life was departing; it was already partially cold. Napoleon, however still breathed; but the delirium was upon him, and he pronounced only these two words, "Head—Army." The solemn moment approached; "the English work" was near being consummated; ancient Europe was about to be startled; the hero of young France touched at the term of his miraculous career.

One heart-rending spectacle was still to mark the last moments of the hero. Madame Bertrand who was herself ill, forgot her personal sufferings in order to be near the bed of the expiring Napoleon, and sent for her daughter and her three sons, in order that they might once more contemplate the features of the great man. These children immediately arrived, rushed towards the bed of the Emperor and seized both his hands, which they covered with kisses and tears. Young Napoleon Bertrand, overwhelmed with grief, fainted away. All the assistants were in tears; nothing was heard but groans and sobs,—a great event was preparing for the world,—at eleven minutes to six, Napoleon had ceased to exist!

The body of the Emperor, after having been subjected to the examination recommended to Dr. Antomarchi, was exposed on a camp-bed, and the blue cloak which the hero wore at Marengo served for a covering. All the inhabitants of the island speedily crowded around this glorious catafalque; and when the mortal remains of the great man had been carried away; every thing which he had touched, or which had belonged to him, was converted into precious relics, the possession of which gave numerous disputes.

The following account of the arrangement respecting the corpse is rendered by Dr. Antomarchi.

It had not been possible, for want of the necessary materials, to embalm the body, the whiteness of which was really extraordinary. It was deposited upon one of the small tent-beds, furnished with white curtains as funeral hangings!!! The cloak of blue cloth which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo served to cover him. The feet and hands were exposed to view; at his right side was his sword, and on his chest a crucifix. At some distance from the body was the silver vase in which I had been obliged to deposit his heart and stomach. Behind his head was an altar, at which the priest, habited in his surplice and stole, recited prayers. All the persons of his suite, officers and servants, dressed in mourning, were standing on his left. Doctor Arnott watched over the corpse, which had been placed under his personal responsibility.

The door of the *chambre ardente* and the approach to it, had been for some hours past thronged by an immense crowd. The door was at last opened; and the crowd entered, and gazed upon the lifeless remains, without confusion, without tumult, and in a religious silence. The order of admittance was regulated by Captain Crokat, the orderly officer of Longwood. The officers and subalterns of the 20th and 66th regiments were first admitted, and the remainder afterwards. All felt that emotion which the spectacle of courage and mis-

fortune united never fails to incite in the hearts of all brave men.

The coffin which was to receive the Emperor having been brought, I was obliged to place the heart and stomach in it. I had flattered myself that I should be able to convey them to Europe; but all my entreaties on that subject were fruitless: I experienced the grief and mortification of a refusal. I left the first-mentioned of these two organs in the vase in which it had first been enclosed, and placed the second in another vase of the same metal, and of a cylindrical shape, which had been used to keep Napoleon's sponge. I filled the vase containing the heart with alcohol, closed it hermetically, soldered it, and deposited it with the other at the angles of the coffin, in which Napoleon was then laid. The body was first placed upon a kind of mattress and pillow, in a tin-box lined with white satin. The Emperor's hat, which could not remain on his head for want of room, was placed on his feet; eagles, some pieces of all the coins bearing his effigy, his fork and spoon, his knife, a plate with his arms, &c. were also put into that box, which was carefully soldered, and placed in another of mahogany. A third, of lead, received these two boxes; and the whole was finally enclosed in a fourth of mahogany, which was closed, and secured with iron screws. The coffin was then covered with the cloak Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo, and exposed on the same spot where the body had lain. Arnott continued to watch, and Vignali to pray; whilst the crowd, which increased every hour, were allowed to circulate round these mournful objects.

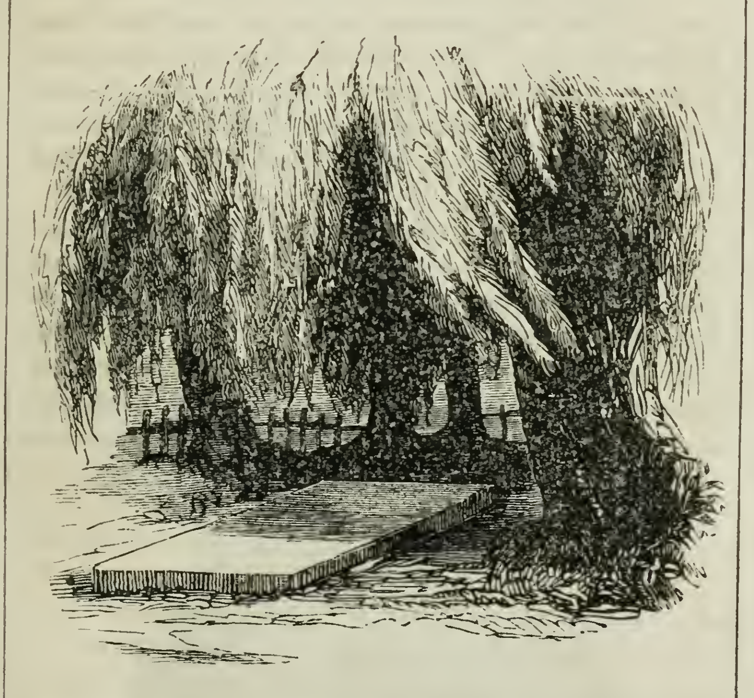
The funeral of Napoleon took place on the 8th May. "At half-past twelve," says Antomarchi, "the procession left Longwood, passed before the guard-house, and the garrison of the island, about two thousand five hundred strong, which lined the whole of the left side of the road as far as Hut's Gate. Bands of music, stationed at intervals, added by their mournful sounds to the solemn sadness of the ceremony. After

the procession had passed before the troops, they followed, and accompanied it towards the place of burial. The dragoons marched first, the 20th regiment of infantry followed; then came the marines, the 66th regiment, the volunteers of St. Helena: and, lastly, the regiment of royal artillery, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Lady Lowe and her daughter were waiting on the road at Hut's Gate, in a calash drawn by two horses, and afterwards followed the procession at a distance, accompanied by some servants in mourning. The fifteen pieces of cannon were stationed along the road, and the men were near their pieces ready to fire.

At about a quarter of a mile beyond Hut's Gate the hearse stopped, and the troops halted and ranged themselves in order of battle along the road. The grenadiers then took the coffin on their shoulders, and carried it thus to the grave, by the new road which had been made for that purpose on the side of the mountain. Everybody then dismounted; the ladies got out of the calash, and the procession followed the corpse without observing any order: Counts Bertrand and Montholon, Marchand, and young Napoleon Bertrand, holding the four corners of the pall. The coffin was deposited on the edge of the grave, which was hung with black, and near to it were the machinery and the ropes with which it was to be lowered: everything offered a mournful aspect: everything contributed to increase the grief and affliction which filled our hearts. Our emotion was great, but deep, concentrated and silent. The coffin having been uncovered, Abbé Vignali recited the usual prayers, and the body was consigned to the grave, the feet turned towards the east. The artillery then fired three successive volleys of fifteen guns each. During the march of the funeral procession, the Admiral's ship had fired twenty-five minute-guns. An enormous stone, which was to have been employed in the construction of the Emperor's new house, was now used to close his grave. The religious ceremonies being over, that stone was lifted up by means of a ring

fixed in it, and was lowered down over the body, resting on both sides on a strong stone wall, so as not touch the coffin. It was then fastened; the ring was taken away, the hole it had left filled up, and the masonry covered with a layer of cement.

He was buried about a league from Longwood. From the first day, his tomb became the object of universal veneration and



regard. Sir Hudson Lowe, the worthy organ of the hatred which was to pursue the illustrious child of the French Revolution even beyond death, was offended at this, and in order to hinder the approach to the tomb, placed a guard near it, which he announced was to be *perpetual*. Despite this precaution, the last dwelling of the hero has always been frequently visited.

Napoleon, however, was to have only a temporary sepulture at St. Helena. In one of his codicils, dated the 16th April, 1821, he himself marked out the spot for his final resting place. "I DESIRE," he said, "THAT MY ASHES MAY REPOSE ON THE BANKS OF THE SEINE, IN THE MIDST OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE WHOM I LOVED SO DEARLY."

Before this last wish could be accomplished, it was requisite that the French people should cast off the yoke of the Bourbons, and that its government should be wholly freed from foreign influence. The restoration has taken place; the prophecy of Napoleon is thus accomplished within the time fixed for it; but it was not until twenty years after his death, that his dearest wish, expressed in his last hour, was at length completed.

When the news of his death reached Europe, the people refused to credit it. The idea of immortality was so much attached to the name of Napoleon, that there seemed to be nothing perishable about him, and his life was regarded as inseparable from his glory. This incredulity which the poet Béranger has celebrated in his verses, is a true apotheosis; it deifies the great man, as far as great men can be deified in the modern ages.



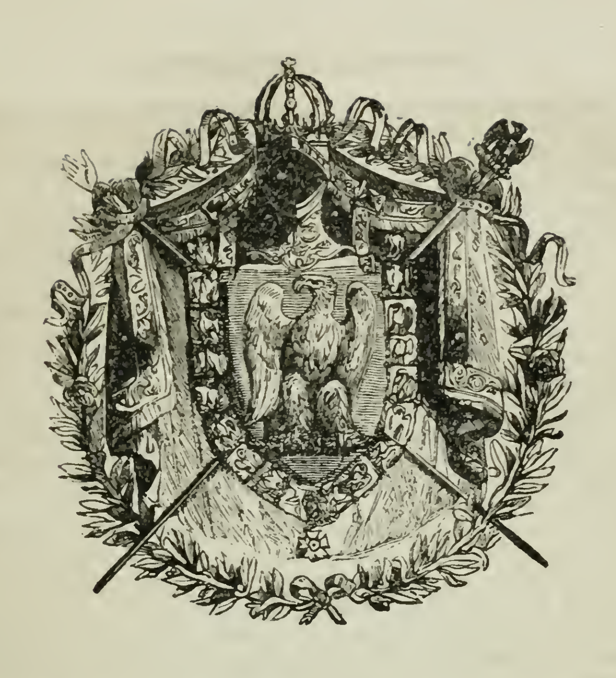
APPENDIX

TO THE

"LIFE OF NAPOLEON,"

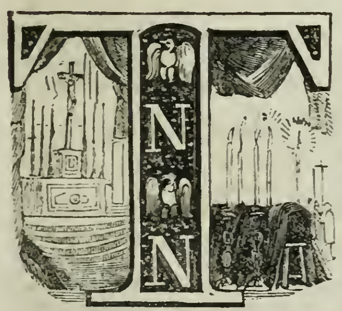
GIVING

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE EXHUMATION OF NAPOLEON'S REMAINS, THEIR TRANSPORTATION TO PARIS, AND ALL THE CEREMONIES CONNECTED THEREWITH.



EXHUMATION AND RE-INTERMENT

OF NAPOLEON'S REMAINS.



THE exhumation, translation and re-interment of the relics of Napoleon, constitute part of the history of that HANNIBAL of modern times. It is an event which excites the admiration of Europe; and although in France it may open afresh many and grievous wounds, it will yield a balm all-powerful to heal the pangs it excites. Mothers may again mourn the sons that, following the fortunes of the Emperor, they were bereaved of, but they will not fail to remember with what pride they contemplated them when achieving the glories of the hero;—the widow's tears may flow as freely as if her bereavement was of but yesterday, but the keen edge of sorrow being worn off by time, she will remember the glory to which, in dying on the battle-field, her husband contributed his share—she will look with pride upon "*La Belle France*," and rejoice in the remembrance, that he helped to make her what she is; she will fancy the spirit of her long lost one hovering over her, approving and joining with her in the tribute her enthusiasm pays to the idol of his heart; and

her tears will be converted into tears of joy. The veteran will recount the glories of the Consulate and of the Empire; his scars will be exhibited as so many badges of honour; the enthusiasm that has slumbered for a while will be awakened to increased vigour, and the name of Napoleon will be reverenced till the end of time. His victories are indelibly recorded in the hearts of France; his reverses have been wept over, and the world has long known and admired his fortitude under the cruelties practised by a tyrannical government towards a great though fallen enemy. On the barren rock of St. Helena, the whole qualities of his mind shone even brighter than when he was seated on the throne of Imperial France, and made kingdoms tributary to her power. In the full assurance that posterity would do him justice, death was disarmed of his terrors. His hopes in posterity are being realized—the grave has yielded up its victory; friends and foes mingle together in unfeigned homage to the master-mind that so long swayed the destinies of the world; his dying wishes are accomplished; his ashes repose in the bosom of his adored France, amidst the undying monuments of his fame.

Early in the month of October, 1830, the presentation of a petition to the Chamber of Deputies, desiring that the remains of Napoleon might be claimed and restored to France, gave rise to a most interesting discussion, in the course of which those feelings which had never been extinguished, although their utterance had been prohibited, found full vent, and were responded to throughout France. "Napoleon," said M. de Montigny, "re-established order and tranquillity in our country—he led our armies to victory—his sublime genius put an end to anarchy—his military glory made the French name respected throughout the whole world—and his name will ever be pronounced with emotion and veneration." M. de Lamarque, while deprecating every thing which might tend to interrupt the peaceful march of civilization, by reviving an improper enthusiasm on behalf of the sword of war, strongly urged the propriety of claiming the remains of him, "who received from his captors a prison and a tomb." "If it has not been in our power to deliver him from captivity," said he, "let us not allow his remains to sleep in a foreign country, on a rock in the midst of the wide ocean."

The discussion of the question at this time, however, led to nothing, the attention of the deputies and of the nation having been diverted to other, and at the time more pressing topics, of domestic policy.

It was not until the present year, (1840) that the subject was revived by any considerable or influential portion of the French people; and no sooner was the feeling expressed, than it was responded to by the government. On the 5th of May—the anniversary of Napoleon's death, the French ambassador in England, M. Guizot, was instructed to apply to the British government for the ashes of the Emperor, and ere ten days had elapsed, M. Thiers had learned by an official despatch from Lord Palmerston, that England, without hesitation, and with generous haste, was ready to meet the wishes of France.

On the 12th of May, M. de Rémusat, the minister of the Interior, introduced the project of law into the Chamber of Deputies, in a speech which deserves to be remembered, for the fine and generous tone of feeling by which it is pervaded. It was as follows:

"Gentlemen,—The King has ordered his Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville, [his son] to proceed with his frigate to St. Helena—to obtain the last mortal remains of the Emperor Napoleon. We now ask you to grant us the means of receiving them in a worthy manner upon the soil of France, and of erecting the last tomb of Napoleon. The Government, anxious to accomplish a national duty, addressed itself to England, and requested to have the precious deposit which fortune had placed in her hands. The wish had hardly been expressed when it was complied with. These are the words of our magnanimous ally: 'The Government of her Britannic Majesty hopes that the promptitude of its reply will be regarded in France as a proof of its desire utterly to efface the national animosities which, during the life of the Emperor, armed England and France against each other. The Government of her Britannic Majesty takes pleasure in believing that if such sentiments still exist in any quarter, they will be buried in the tomb in which the ashes of Napoleon are about to be placed.' England is right, gentlemen; this noble restitution strengthens the bonds which unite us. She has just effaced the painful recollections of the past. The time is arrived when the two nations should remember only their glory. The frigate charged with the mortal remains of Napoleon will arrive at the mouth of the Seine, whence they will convey them to Paris. They will be deposited at the Invalides. A solemn ceremony—a grand religious and military pomp—will inaugurate the tomb which is to receive them for ever. It is important, gentlemen, to the majesty of such a commemoration that this august sepulture should not be in a public place, in the midst of a noisy and inattentive crowd. It is proper that it should be in a silent and sacred spot, which can be visited with awe by those who respect glory and genius, grandeur and misfortune. He was Emperor and King. He was the legitimate Sovereign of our country. With such a title he could be interred at Saint Denis; but Napoleon must not have the ordinary sepulture of kings. He must still reign and command in the building in which the soldiers of the country repose, and to which all who may be called upon to defend it, will go to draw their inspirations. His sword will be placed upon his tomb. Under the dome in the midst of the temple consecrated by religion to the God of armies, art will raise a tomb worthy, if possible, of the name which is to be engraven upon it. This monument must be of simple beauty, but of noble form, and have that aspect of firmness and solidity which appears to defy the action of time. The monument of Napoleon must be as durable as his name. The credit which we ask for, is for the translation of the remains to the Invalides, the funeral ceremony, and the construction of the tomb. We do not doubt, gentlemen, that the Chamber will associate itself with patriotic emotion with the royal intentions which we have just announced. In future, France, and France alone, will possess what remains of Napoleon. The grave, like the memory of Napoleon, will belong only to his country. The monarchy of 1830, is, in fact, the only and legitimate heir of all the reminiscences of which France is proud. It belonged, doubtlessly, to this monarchy, which was the first to rally all the strength, and conciliate all the wishes of the French revolution, to raise, and fearlessly to honour, the statue and the tomb of a popular hero; for there is only one thing which does not dread a comparison with glory—it is liberty."

During the speech, loud and enthusiastic shouts of applause were given from time to time, and when the minister had concluded, a host of deputies crowded round the Ministerial Bench to congratulate the members of the cabinet. The Bill was as follows : —

"Art. 1. There is opened to the Minister of the Interior, upon the estimates of 1840, a credit of 1,000,000 francs, for the translation of the mortal remains of the Emperor Napoleon to the church of the Invalides, and for the erection of his tomb.

"Art. 2. The expenditure authorised by the present law shall be provided for out of the resources granted by the law of finances of August 10th, 1839, for the estimates of 1840."

The committee on the Bill recommended that 2,000,000 of francs should be granted, but the chamber, after a protracted and angry debate, adopted an amendment, to reduce the required sum to one million; a step which was alleged by the ministerial press to have been the result of a cabal that had been got up against M. Thiers ; a step against which the country would protest by means of a subscription fully adequate to the magnificence of the undertaking contemplated.

The introduction of the ministerial project roused the enthusiasm of the country, from one end to the other, and applications were made from every quarter for permission to be represented by deputations at the imposing ceremony.

The French press, generally, not excepting even the republican section of it, did not permit this opportunity of associating the national sympathies with the acts of the cabinet, to pass over without profit, although some of the journals did not fail to dwell upon the inconsistency of the act, which was to bring the ashes of Napoleon to Paris, while all the members of his family were excluded from the French soil.

The *Constitutionnel* says : "The Cabinet has shown that it is worthy of the good fortune which it owed to the King of being associated in the accomplishment of this great national duty. The English Government did not reply with less readiness to the appeal made to its good feelings. The reply will be historical like the fact which it announces. It is a new seal upon the alliance between the two nations over the grave of the Emperor, in which England desires that all the remnants of the old national hatred may be buried for ever. The result of the negociation with England is a most important and happy event. In our foreign relations, it consolidates an alliance on which depends the peace of the world ; at home, it is an example of patriotic piety by the Government which elevates the mind."

The *Débats* says, "Who would have said twenty-five years ago, when England was directing against France the whole of Europe, that the day was so near at hand when these two nations, reconciled by a new revolution, would rely upon each other for the maintainance of the peace of the world, so long disturbed by their quarrels? Who would have thought that England, anxious to efface a sad remembrance from its annals, would have expressed its desire that the restoration of the ashes of Napoleon might become the pledge of the permanent reconciliation of the two nations? In vain do diplomatists draw up treaties, if they are not ratified in the hearts of the people. We may now, however, believe, to use the noble expression of the

British Government, that if some sentiments of animosity still exist between the two countries, they will be buried in the tomb in which the ashes of Napoleon are to be deposited.

The *Commerce* charges M. Thiers with having yielded only to a desire for popularity in the absence of the courage which should have taught him to seek for real, and not borrowed glory. It censures also the arrangements for the final disposal of the remains of Napoleon. "They should be carried through the towns and villages of France," says this journal, "and not be conveyed by water, and should finally be deposited in the heart of Paris and in the midst of the people."

The *National* thus apostrophizes the Ministry and their partisans:—"Will not the remembrance of the firmness with which Napoleon defended to his last hour, the flag and territory of France, prove a bleeding accusation against the cowardice which, for these ten years past, has stained our most brilliant traditions? Who are the men who now presume to talk of the reparation due to the past? Are they not the same who yielded shamefully, and on every point, to Europe, armed only with protocols? Are they not the men who assassinated Poland, abandoned Italy, and refused to assist Belgium; who permitted the counter-revolution to resume all that the revolution of July had stript it of, and who are now going to brandish the sword of Napoleon with the hand which ratified the treaties of 1815? Madmen! why do you touch history? Do you not see that those events which were, in some degree, lost in the torpor of opinion, will be roused from their sleep, and that, in speaking of the glory of the Emperor, you call upon the whole world to stigmatise your infamy?"

The *Capitole* will not admit that any honour is due to the Ministry on this subject, and says, "England will reject the servile homage paid to it by an evening official journal, which has said, that the influence of M. Thiers induced England to make this magnificent present. The affair, as regards England," says the *Capitole*, "is a restitution and not a present, and the proof of it is given in the simple and noble terms of its reply. Everybody knows that for the accomplishment of this act of reparation, England only waited for France to express its wishes. In the face of this well-known disposition, the French Government could no longer abstain: a longer silence would have betrayed the existence of ignoble terror, and would have been a disgrace with which the country would have refused to associate."

The *Capitole* then asks why a squadron, or at least a first-rate ship of the line, was not sent out to St. Helena instead of a frigate, and insinuates that the Prince de Joinville had been charged with the mission merely for the purpose of having an excuse for his promotion. It next censures the arrangement for taking the ashes of Napoleon to Paris by the Seine, and says the Government was afraid that the shade of the Emperor, if it were to pass through the towns and villages of France, would prove too exciting for their own safety: and, lastly, it is indignant that the ashes of Napoleon should repose in the quiet tomb of a sacred edifice, amid emigrants to whom the restoration awarded the honour of sepulture in the Invalides, with the chance victims of Fieschi, and with a general who was not absolved by an African ball from the misfortune of having signed the capitulation of Paris in 1814. The proper tomb for Napoleon, says the *Capitole*, is the base of the column of Austerlitz.

The *France* treats the whole proceeding as a *coupe de théatre*, and as a piece of effrontery on the part of those who hope to obtain a bespattering of Napoleon's glory; and it must be confessed that there is too much ground for such an imputation, especially when we see them treasuring the ashes of the chief of the family, whom they inexorably proscribe from their soil. LOUIS PHILIPPE has asked and obtained from the British Government, permissiou to translate the remains of Napoleon from the rock of St. Helena, to what is intended to be their final resting place-Paris. Why does he not, while evincing this apparently generous recollection of the illustrious dead, shew that he is capable of practising similar magnanimity towards the living? Can the memory of Napoleon be sincerely honoured, while his kindred are proscribed? A contemporary reminds us, that when the Athenians had the bones of their exiled hero, Theseus, brought back in funeral pomp and posthumous triumph from the Island of Scyros, they did not act so inconsistently as to erect statues and build temples to the memory of their glorified chief, and banish from their city all those in whose veins the blood of the hero ran.

But we are reminded, that it is not to what ought to have been done, but to what is actually done and doing, that we have now to address ourselves.

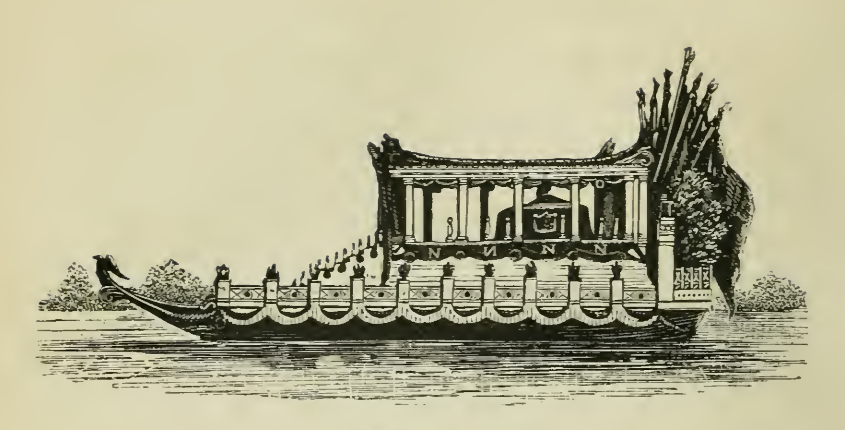
As soon as the announcement of the king's intention had been made to the Chambers, preparations were set on foot for the expedition, and it was arranged that the old companions of the Emperor's exile, Gourgaud, Bertrand, and Las Cases should accompany the Prince de Joinville. A coffin of solid ebony, in the shape of the ancient sarcophagi was constructed, large enough to enclose the coffins in which the Emperor was interred, so that his ashes might not be disturbed. A funeral pall of the most magnificent description, was also provided. It was of velvet, strewed with gold bees, and bordered with a broad band of ermine. At each corner was placed an eagle, embroidered in gold, and surmounted with the Imperial Crown.

On the morning of the 8th of October, the frigate *Belle Poule* and the corvette, *Favorite* came in sight of St. Helena, and after beating about for some hours, they gained an excellent anchorage near to the shore. In the roadstead, they found two ships of war, the French brig *Oreste*, Captain Drouet, the English schooner *Dolphin*, Captain Littlehales, which had carried out from England the first intelligence of the projected expedition.

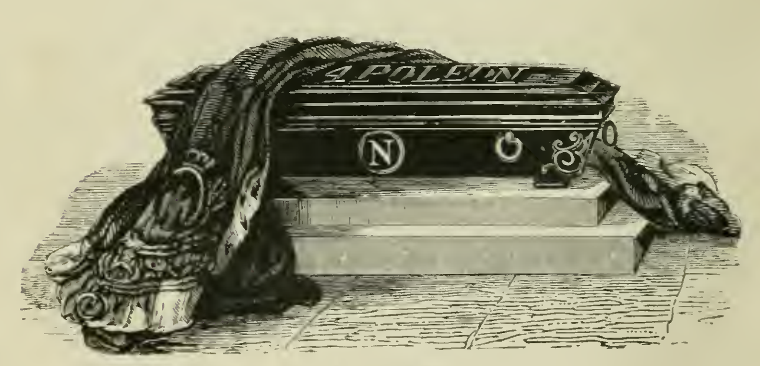
As soon as the *Belle Poule* had come to anchor, the *Oreste* manned her yards, and gave three cheers of *Vive le Roi;* and then both she and the *Dolphin* saluted the Prince with 21 guns, which was returned by the frigate, who then saluted in like manner the forts, by which the honour was returned.

As soon as the Prince entered the roads, Lieutenant Middlemore, son and aide-de-camp of General Middlemore, the governor of the Island, went on board the frigate, accompanied by Captain Littlehales of the *Dolphin*, to pay his compliments to the Prince, the governor himself being confined by illness.

On the morning of the 9th, the Prince landed in full uniform, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, commandant Hernoux, Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud, M. de Rohan Chabot, commissioner of the King of the French, M. de Las Cases, M. Marchand, the Abbé Coquereau, almoner of the



THE IMPERIAL BARGE.



THE COFFIN.

Belle Poule, and several officers from the three vessels, all the garrison being under arms to receive him. His royal highness first proceeded to the castle, where the authorities were presented to him, and then mounting horse, he proceeded to Plantation House, to pay his respects to the governor. After a conference on the subject of his mission, and on the means for accomplishing it, the Prince hastened to visit the tomb of Napoleon at Longwood, the romantic spot which had been selected for his sepulture, by the illustrious exile himself, since his ashes might not "repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom he had loved so well."

The tomb stood in a small secluded recess called Haine's Valley, in which rises a fountain, whence Napoleon's domestics used to bring him water in silver pitchers; and the excursion thither was one big with interest, not, of course, unmingled with sorrow, to the Prince's companions, who had so often visited the spot with their beloved master the Emperor, who was accustomed to repose under the beautiful weeping willows which overhung the spring.

During the 11th, 12th, and 13th, while the French and English commissioners were going through the preliminary dispositions, the crews of the three French ships of war were conducted by detachments to visit the tomb, each man being permitted to bring away some little memento of his visit; while Bertrand, Las Cases, Gourgaud, and Marchand, visited the various places to which they had so often accompanied the Emperor.

The 15th, being the 25th anniversary of the arrival of the august exile at St. Helena, was fixed upon for the ceremony of the exhumation, the governor charging himself with its superintendence; and on the preceding evening the coffins brought by the *Belle Poule*, the funeral car, which had been constructed in the island, by the order of the governor, and the different articles necessary for the operation, were taken to the Valley of the Tomb. At ten o'clock in the evening, the persons fixed on to be present, on the part of France, landed, and proceeded thither, the Prince de Joinville remaining on board the frigate, very properly judging that, in his quality of commandant of the expedition, he should not be present at operations which were not under his entire command. He decided on not landing but at the head of his staff, and in a position that would permit him to preside over the honours which he was charged to render to the remains of Napoleon.

Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud, Count de Chabot, Baron Las Cases, and Messrs. Marchand, Arthur Bertrand, the Abbé Coquereau his two acolyths, Messrs. St. Denis, Noverraz, Pierron, Archambault (old servants of Napoleon;) with Captains Guyet, Charner, and Doret, and Dr. Guillard, surgeon-major of the *Belle Poule*, were admitted into the reserved enclosure around the tomb, while the valley was guarded by a detachment of soldiers of the garrison, who had commands to keep off all persons who had not an order from one of the commissioners.

The works commenced at midnight, under the immediate direction of Captain Alexander, of the Royal Engineers, and were continued without relaxation for upwards of nine hours. It was feared that in spite of all efforts, and the continuance of two operations simultaneously set on foot to reach the coffin, the greater part of the day would elapse before the

exhumations would be completed, and that the removal must be postponed until the next day. But at daybreak all uneasiness ceased, and by half-past nine o'clock in the morning, the earth was entirely dug out from the vault, all the horizontal stratum of masonry was removed, and the large slab which covered the internal sarcophagus was detached, and raised by means of a crane. The cemented masonry-work which on every side enclosed the coffin, and which, during the nineteen years that had elapsed since it was built, suffered no detriment, had so preserved it from the effects of the atmosphere and the neighbouring spring, that it did not appear to be in the slightest degree injured. The sarcophagus in flag-stones was perfect, and could scarcely be said to be damp. As soon as the Abbé Coquereau had recited the first prayers, the coffin was removed with the greatest care, and carried by the engineer soldiers, bareheaded, into a tent which had been prepared for its reception near at hand. After the religious ceremonies had been concluded, the inner coffins were opened, at the request of the French commissioner, in order that Dr. Guillard might take the necessary measures for securing the mortal remains from any further decomposition. The outermost coffin was slightly injured; the leaden coffin was in good condition, and enclosed two others—one of wood and one of tin—the lids of which were taken off with the greatest care. The innermost coffin was lined with white satin, which, having become detached, had fallen upon the body, which it enveloped like a winding-sheet, adhering slightly to it.

The anxiety with which those present waited for the moment that was to expose to them all that death had left of Napoleon, could not be described by even an eye witness of the scene. Nowithstanding the singular state of preservation of the tomb and coffins, they could scarcely hope to find anything but some mis-shapen remains of the least perishable parts of the costume to evidence the identity of the body. But when the satin sheet was raised, an indescribable feeling of surprise and affection was exhibited by the spectators, most of whom burst into tears. The Emperor himself was before their eyes! The features of his face, though changed, were perfectly recognized—the hands perfectly beautiful—his well known costume had suffered but little, and the colours were easily distinguished—the epaulettes, the decorations, and the hat, seemed to be entirely preserved from decay;—the attitude itself was full of ease, and but for the fragments of the satin lining, which covered as with a fine gauze several parts of the uniform, it might have been believed that Napoleon was before them, extended on a bed of state. "At this solemn moment," says the Prince de Joinville, "at the sight of the easily recognised remains of him who had done so much for the glory of France, the emotion was deep and unanimous." Gen. Bertrand and M. Marchand, who were present at the interment, pointed out the different articles which each had deposited in the coffin; and it was even remarked, that the left hand, which Gen. Bertrand had taken to kiss for the last time, before the coffin was closed up, still remained slightly raised. Between the two legs, near the hat, were the two vases which contained the heart and the entrails.

The two inner coffins were carefully re-closed; the old leaden coffin was strongly secured with wedges of wood, and both were once more soldered up with the utmost care, under the direction of Dr. Guillard. These

operations being terminated, the ebony sarcophagus was closed, as well as its oak case, and Captain Alexander delivered the key of the ebony sarcophagus to Count de Chabot, declaring, in the name of the governor, that the coffin containing the mortal remains of the Emperor Napoleon was at the disposal of the French Government, from the moment at which it should arrive at the place of embarkation, towards which it was about to be sent, under the orders of General Middlemore. The French commissioner replied, that he was charged by his Government, and in its name, to accept the coffin from the hands of the British authorities, and that he and the other persons composing the French mission were ready to follow it to James Town, where the Prince de Joinville, superior commandant of the expedition, would be ready to receive it, and conduct it on board his frigate.

We have already stated that a funeral car had been prepared under the direction of Governor Middlemore, previously to the arrival of the expedition. This, drawn by four horses, was now ready for the reception of the coffins, which, being placed thereon, were covered with a magnificent imperial mantle brought from Paris, the four corners of which were borne by Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud, Baron Las Cases and M. Marchand. At half-past three o'clock the funeral car began to move, preceded by a chorister bearing the cross, and by the Abbé Coquereau; M. de Chabot acting as chief mourner. All the authorities of the Island, all the principal inhabitants, and the whole of the garrison, followed in procession from the tomb to the quay, notwithstanding the rain fell in torrents. With the exception of the artillerymen necessary to lead the horses, and occasionally to support the car when descending some steep parts of the road, the places nearest the coffin were reserved for the French mission. General Middlemore, although in a weak state of health, persisted in following the whole way on foot, together with General Churchill, chief of the staff in India, who had arrived only two days before from Bombay. The immense weight of the coffins, and the unevenness of the road, rendered the utmost caution necessary throughout the whole distance. Colonel Trelawney commanded the detachment of artillerymen who conducted the car, and such was his great care that not the slightest accident took place. From the moment of the departure to the arrival at the quay, the cannons of the forts and of the *Belle Poule* fired minute guns. After an hour's march, the rain ceased, for the first time since the commencement of the operations, and on the procession arriving in sight of the town, there was a brilliant sky and beautiful weather. From the morning, the three French vessels of war had assumed the usual signs of deep mourning, their yards being crossed and their flags lowered. Two French merchantmen, *Bonne Amie* and *Indien*, which were in the roads, had put themselves under the Prince's orders, and followed during the ceremony all the manœuvres of the *Belle Poule*. The forts of the town and the houses of the consuls had also their flags half-mast high.

On the procession arriving at the entrance of the town, the troops of the garrison and the militia formed in two lines, as far as the extremity of the quay, the men having their arms reversed, and the officers wearing crape on their arms, with their swords reversed. All the inhabitants had been kept away from the line of march, but they lined the terraces commanding

the town, and the streets were occupied only by the troops, the 91st regiment being on the right and the militia on the left. The *cortége* advanced slowly between two ranks of soldiers, to the sound of a funeral march, while the cannons of the forts were fired, as well as from the *Belle Poule* and the *Dolphin,* the echoes being repeated a thousand times by the rocks above James Town. After two hours' march, the *cortége* stopped at the end of the quay, where the Prince de Joinville had stationed himself at the head of the officers of the three French ships of war.

The greatest official honours had been rendered by the English authorities to the memory of the Emperor—the most striking testimonials of respect had marked the adieu given by St. Helena to his coffin; and from this moment the mortal remains of the Emperor were to belong to France. When the funeral car stopped, the Prince de Joinville advanced alone, and, in presence of all around, who stood with their heads uncovered, received, in a solemn manner, the imperial coffin from the hands of General Middlemore. His royal highness then thanked the governor in the name of France, for all the testimonials of sympathy and respect with which the authorities and inhabitants of St. Helena had surrounded the memorable ceremonial.

A cutter had been prepared to receive the coffin, and during the embarkation, which the Prince directed, the bands played funeral airs, and all the boats were stationed around, with their oars shipped. The moment the sarcophagus touched the cutter, a magnificent royal flag, which the ladies of James Town had embroidered for the occasion, was unfurled. "As soon as the coffin was lowered into the boat of the frigate prepared to receive it, the general emotion," says the Prince in his despatches, "was again renewed; the dying wish of the Emperor Napoleon began to be accomplished, his remains reposed under the national flag."

All sign of mourning was from that time abandoned; the same honours which the Emperor would have received had he been living, were paid to his mortal remains, and it was amidst salutes from the ships, dressed out in their colours, with their yards manned, that the cutter, escorted by the boats of all the ships, pursued its way slowly towards the frigate. "Our mourning had ceased with the exile of Napoleon," says one of the expedition, "and the French naval division dressed itself out in all its festal ornaments to receive the imperial coffin under the French flag." The sarcophagus was covered in the cutter with the imperial mantle. The Prince de Joinville placed himself at the rudder, Commandant Guyet at the head of the boat; Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud, Baron de Las Cases, M. Marchand, and the Abbé Coquereau, occupied the same places as during the march. Count Chabot and Commandant Hernoux were astern, a little in advance of the Prince. As soon as the cutter had pushed off from the quay, the batteries ashore fired off a salute of twenty-one guns, and the French ships returned the salute by all their artillery. Two other salutes were fired during the passage from the quay to the frigate, the cutter advancing very slowly, and surrounded by the other boats. At half-past six o'clock it reached the *Belle Poule,* all the men being on the yards with their hats in their hands. The Prince had arranged on the deck a chapel, decked with flags and trophies of arms, the altar being placed at the foot of the mizenmast. The coffin, carried by French sailors, passed between

two ranks of officers with drawn swords, and was placed on the quarter-deck. A guard of sixty men, commanded by the senior Lieutenant of the frigate, did the honours; and although it was a late hour, the absolution was pronounced by the Abbé Coquereau, and the body was left for the night, the almoner and an officer keeping watch by its side.

On the following morning, at ten o'clock, all the officers and crews of the French ships of war and merchantmen, having been assembled on board the frigate, a solemn funeral service was celebrated; the Prince stood at the foot of the coffin: the cannon of the *Favorite* and *Oreste* fired minute-guns during the ceremony, which terminated by a solemn absolution; and the Prince de Joinville, the gentlemen of the mission, the officers, and the *premiers maitres* of the ship, sprinkled holy water on the coffin. At eleven, all the ceremonies of the church were accomplished, all the honours due to a Sovereign had been paid to the mortal remains of Napoleon. The coffin was carefully lowered between decks, and placed in the *chapelle ardente*, which had been prepared at Toulon for its reception. At this moment, the vessels fired a last salute with all their guns; and the frigate took in her flags, keeping up only her flag at the stern, and the royal standard at the main-top-gallant-mast. On Sunday, the 18th, at eight in the morning, the *Belle Poule* quitted St. Helena with her precious deposit on board, and arrived off Cherbourg on the 30th.

The Prince, and his attendants speak in the highest terms of the anxiety evinced, and the exertions made, by Captain Alexander and the other English authorities, as well as by the workmen and soldiers during the solemn and interesting ceremonies of the disinterment and transportation of the remains of the Emperor. "During the whole time that the mission remained at James Town," says one of the French officers, "the best understanding never ceased to exist between the population of the island and the French. The Prince de Joinville and his companions met in all quarters and at all times with the greatest good-will and the warmest testimonials of sympathy. The authorities and the inhabitants must have felt, no doubt, great regret at seeing taken away from their island the coffin that had rendered it so celebrated; but they repressed their feelings with a courtesy that does honour to the frankness of their character."

The following are the several official documents relative to the Exhumation and transportation of the Emperor's Remains:—

1.—ENGLISH GENERAL ORDER.

"Head-quarters of St. Helena Plantation, Oct. 13, 1840.

"When the operation of the opening of the tomb shall be completed, and the moment the officer commanding the Royal Corps of Engineers shall have announced that all the measures shall have been taken for the removal of the remains of the late Emperor Napoleon, on a car prepared for the purpose, their disinterment and transfer from the tomb to the quay will take place in the following order, on Thursday the 15th instant:—

"A detachment, composed of a non-commissioned officer and twelve soldiers of the Royal Artillery will be charged with conducting the horses and car: four near the horses, and eight on the sides of the car. The detachment of the 91st Regiment will draw up, on the Longwood road, by sections of companies, with their right at the meeting of the road leading to the tomb. The Regiment of the Militia of St. Helena will occupy the heights adjoining the tomb, in order to keep off all persons who might impede the operations of the workmen, under the command of

the Captain of Royal Engineers, Alexander. When the coffin containing the mortal remains of the late Emperor Napoleon shall have been placed on the car, the *cortége* will proceed by the road leading to that of James Town. A cannon shot will be fired every minute after the departure of the *cortége*, and the moment the officer stationed at Highknoll shall descry it. When the *cortége* reaches the entrance of the city, the artillery of the ramparts of James Town will fire a shot every minute. The fire will cease the minute the *cortége* arrives on the quay, and when the coffin shall have been embarked in the boat of his Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville, the Royal Artillery will fire a salute from the ramparts. The Militia of St. Helena will draw up before the car, and the detachment of the 91st Regiment will follow the Militia. The persons who are to assist at the ceremony, and follow the *cortége* in the name of France, are requested to take the places assigned to them by Count Philippe de Chabot. All the military, civil, and naval authorities of the island are requested to accompany the Major General. The officers will wear black crape on their left arm. The officers will place themselves by fours near the last section of the 91st Regiment, the superior officers closing the march. All the gentlemen of the island desirous to follow the *cortége* are invited to attend in mourning. The *cortége* will stop at the entrance of the town, and the Regiment of Militia will line the passage, extending towards the gate of the ramparts, the men resting on their reversed arms. The 91st regiment will march through the ranks, and draw up on the ramparts. The car will pass through the ranks, and go out by the rampart gate. Then the 91st Regiment will form the line from the sea-gate guardhouse, the men resting on their reversed arms, and the *cortége* will advance towards the quay. The band of the St. Helena Militia will precede the car through the town, playing funeral marches. The drums will be muffled.

"By order of his Excellency Major-General Middlemore, C.B., Commander of the Forces.

"G. Barnett, Town Major."

2.—ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH AT ST. HELENA.

The report of the Prince de Joinville to the Minister of Marine states that the *Belle Poule* frigate, commanded by his Royal Highness, arrived at St. Helena on the 8th of October, 1840. Extracts from the log of this French frigate are here given:—

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ORDER OF THE DAY OF THE 12TH OF OCTOBER, 1840.

"*Belle Poule* frigate, St. Helena, Oct. 14, 1840.

"H. R. H. the Prince de Joinville, commanding the expedition, desirous that the two French merchant-vessels now in the roads of James Town should participate in the solemnity of the removal of the remains of the Emperor Napoleon on board the frigate *Belle Poule*, I invite their captains to observe the following dispositions:—To-morrow, the 15th of October, at eight o'clock in the morning they will hoist the mizen flag a *mi-corne*, and a national flag at each mast, lowered to the cross-trees; the yards will be placed *en panteune*. They will cross the yards, hoist their streamers at the same time as the frigate, and leave their colours flying during the whole night. On the next day, the 16th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the yards will be put *en panteune* and the flags lowered half-mast high. After the funeral service the yards will be crossed, the mizen flags hoisted, and those of the masts lowered. The captains, their officers, and the French cabin passengers on board, are invited to assist at the funeral ceremony of the 15th. They will wear crape on their arms and hats, and take care to be on board before the arrival of the large boat carrying the coffin, and when on board, they will order off their boats. The captains are likewise invited to assist at the ceremony of the 16th, which will

commence at ten o'clock; they may bring with them a deputation of men of their crews dressed in their grand *tenue*.—By order of his Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville,

"The Aide-de-Camp on duty, TOUCHARD."

3.—ORDER OF THE DAY OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE DE JOINVILLE, DATED OCTOBER 13th, 1840.

"On Board the *Belle Poule* frigate, at the anchorage off James Town, St. Helena.

"The day of the disinterment of the remains of the Emperor having been fixed for Thursday, the 15th instant, the following dispositions will be taken on the occasion of that grand solemnity:—1. The captains of the vessels lying in the roads and the corvette, Captain Charner, will repair on Thursday, at one o'clock, a.m. to the place of disinterment, in order to be present at it as a witness. They will afterwards take in the *cortege* the place assigned to them by the King's Commissioner, and on reaching the beach they will join their respective staffs. Abbé Coquereau, chaplain to the frigate, and Dr. Guillard, surgeon-major, will place themselves at the disposal of the King's Commissioner; they will bring with them two men of the crew, who may be necessary for the service. No other person belonging to the vessels of the division will be allowed to go ashore. It is important to observe that the ceremony about to take place on shore is entirely English, and that according to the orders of the King's government, we are not to pay the honours due to crowned heads to the remains of the Emperor Napoleon, until they shall be delivered into our hands, and be placed under the French flag. 2. On Thursday morning, at eight o'clock, the vessels will hoist, without firing guns, first, the flag of the stern half mast high; second, a national flag at each mast lowered to the cross bar of the gallant top-mast. 3. The moment the *cortége* leaves the tomb, a cannon-shot will be fired every minute by the frigate alone. 4. When the coffin reaches the town, the boats destined to receive the remains of the Emperor Napoleon will leave the frigate, preceded by two other boats containing the officers and midshipmen of the frigate; two boats will then proceed from each vessel, and convey ashore the officers and midshipmen of those vessels, one officer remaining on board each vessel. One officer and a midshipman will stop on board the frigate. The large boat will moor, with the aid of grappnels, with its rear to the wharf, by which the coffin is to be embarked; the other boats, after landing the officers, will form into a line, parallel with the quay, ten yards in advance of the large boat, the rear turned towards the quay, the boats of the *Belle Poule* being stationed in the centre, those of the *Favorite* at starboard, and those of the *Oreste* at larboard. The officers will draw up in two lines at the approach of the coffin, and on its passage to the wharf, the band of the frigate, mounted in a boat, will be landed behind the officers. On the arrival of the coffin, all persons present will uncover themselves; the rowers will raise their oars, and the greatest silence will be observed. The coffin will then be taken from the funeral car, and be carried by the crew of the frigate to the large boat, and deposited in the cabin. The officers will re-embark in the boats in which they went ashore. In the large boat, Commander Guyet will place himself in front, and the only persons admitted into the cabin, near the coffin, will be Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud; Messrs. Las Cases, Marchand, and Chabot, and the Chaplain. I shall be at the *barre* with Commander Hernoux. Messrs. Denis, Archambault, Noveraz, and Peirou, will embark with the officers. Then the large boat, at the mast of which the Royal flag is to be hoisted, will make for the frigate, preceded by the two boats of the *Favorite*, flanked by those of the *Belle Poule*, and followed by those of the *Oreste*. The *cortége* will proceed slowly. 5. When the coffin shall be descried from the vessels, the latter will carefully watch the movements of the frigate. The moment the coffin shall have stopped on the wharf, the frigate will hoist her colours, cross her yards, &c.. and all the movements of the frigate will be imitated by the others.

The moment the flag shall have been hoisted on the mast of the large boat, preparations to salute it will be made; when the frigate shall have hoisted her colours, she will lower her flag from the mizen mast; the other vessels will do the same. (The *Oreste* will make her signal with the flag of the main-mast.) The frigate will re-hoist her flag. The artillery salutes will then commence, the guns being fired in as quick succession as possible, going round the vessel, the fire commencing at larboard; and when the fire shall reach the three pieces at the head of the frigate, the officer will command the fire in the battery. It is preferable to fire two shots at once, rather than leave any intermission in the firing. The gunners will then re-load, the flags will be again lowered, and the fire recommence; a third salute will be fired in the same manner. Men will afterwards be sent on the yards, with orders to look towards the large boat. When it comes near the frigate, the men will face the capstan at the word of command; no cries shall be uttered, and the yards and frigate will be stripped of their flags 6. On the approach of the large boat, the other boats will make for the frigate, and the officers and midshipmen will go on board by larboard. They will then draw up in two lines at larboard, with their hats on and sword in hand, from the *coupée* to the *catafalque* raised on the panel of the dome. Those gentlemen will place themselves according to their rank and anciety. On starboard a guard of sixty men, commanded by M. Tenieros (in virtue of a ministerial order), will present arms, the drums will beat to arms, and the band placed to the right of the guard, will play, when the coffin, once on deck, will be carried from the *coupée* to the *catafalque*. The coffin being deposited therein, the officers will sheath their swords, and, placing themselves behind the capstan, will assist at the absolution. One half of the guard will procced to the quarter-deck, on starboard; the band will take its station on the *lunette;* after the absolution the men will break up; four sentries will be stationed at the corners of the *catafalque;* the officer of the watch will be dressed in his grand uniform, and the other officers will return to their respective vessels. The streamers and colours will not be lowered by the frigates, but they will preserve them all night. The *Favorite* and *Oreste* will lower their streamers, but keep their colours and their flags at the top of the masts. The body will remain thus in the Ardent Chapel until the next morning; the *gaillard d'arriere* will be cleared, and the officer of the watch will maintain silence on deck."

4.—CEREMONY OF THE 16TH.

" In the morning the deck will not be washed. At ten o'clock, the staff, masters, and a deputation of sixty men from each vessel will assemble on board the frigate to assist at the funeral ceremony. Each will be stationed in their proper places by M. Touchard, my Aide-de-Camp. After mass, the assistants will withdraw, the coffin will be lowered into the chapel, and the service will resume its usual course. The *Favorite* and *Oreste* will place their yards *en panteune*, and their flags half-mast high at eight o'clock, and after the beginning of the mass they will fire a cannon-shot every minute, alternately, and so on during the mass. After mass the fire will cease. The moment the body shall have been conveyed into the chapel, the frigate will lower her streamers, and only one flag, lined with crape, will be left at the mainmast. The other vessels will then fire a last general salute of their whole artillery, re-hoist the mizen-flag, and lower those on the masts. The officers will attend the ceremonies attired in their grand uniforms; their coats buttoned, a blue pantaloon with lace bands, with crape on their arms, sword, and hat. The midshipmen will also be dressed in their grand uniforms, and wear crape on their arms, swords, and hats. The crews of the boats which are to go ashore will be dressed in white trousers and shirts, a black hat, with crape on their arms over their shirts; the rest of the crews will be in their grand *tenue*, with pilot coats No. 1, white trousers, and a black cravat and hat."

" The Ship Captain Commander "

"FERDINAND D'ORLEANS."

5.—THE ACT OF DISINTERING AND DELIVERING THE BODY.

"We, the undersigned, Philipe Ferdinand Auguste de Rohan Chabot, Chevalier of the Royal Order of the Legion of Honour, Secretary of Embassy, Commissioner by virtue of powers received from his Majesty the King of the French, to preside, in the name of the French nation, at the disinterment of the mortal remains of the Emperor Napoleon, buried in the island of St. Helena, and at their delivery by Great Britain to France, in conformity with the decisions of the two Governments, on one part; and Charles Cousin Alexander, Captain commanding the Royal Engineers at St. Helena, deputed by his Excellency Major General Middlemore, Companion of the Bath, Governor, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain at St. Helena, to preside in the name of his Excellency at the said disinterment, of the other part. Having first communicated our respective powers, which being found in proper form, we proceeded this day, the 15th of the present month of October, of the year 1840, to the burial place of the Emperor Napoleon, in order to observe and personally direct all the operations of the disinterment and transferring. When we arrived at the place called Napoleon's Valley, we found the tomb guarded, according to his Excellency the Governor's orders, by a detachment of the 91st Regiment of English Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Barney, with orders to remove every person who should not be designated by either of us as having a right to assist at the operation. The following persons then entered the enclosure round the tomb:—

On the part of the French Nation—the Baron de Las Cases, member of the Chamber of Deputies, Councillor of State; the Baron Gourgaud, Lieutenant-General, Aide-de-Camp to the King; M. Marchand, one of the testamentary executors of the Emperor's will; Count Bertrand, Lieutenant-General, accompanied by Arthur Bertrand, his son; the Abbé Felix Coquereau, chaplain of the frigate *La Belle Poule*, and two choristers; MM. St. Denis Noveraz and Archambault Pierron, ancient attendants on the Emperor; M. Guyet, captain commanding the corvette *La Favorite*: M. Charnier, First Lieutenant of *La Belle Poule*; M. Doret, commanding the brig *L'Oreste*; Dr. Guillard, chief surgeon on board *La Belle Poule*; and M. Roux, plumber:—

And for Great Britain—His Honour the Grand Judge; William Wilde, member of the Colonial Council of the island of St. Helena; the Hon. Hamelin Trelawny, Lieutenant Colonel Commanding the Artillery; the Hon. Colonel Hodson, Member of the Council; M. W. Seale, Secretary to the Governor; Edward Littlehales, commanding the brig *Dolphin*; and M. Darling, who had superintended the works at the Emperor's grave. The persons appointed to direct and execute the works were then admitted. Then in our presence, and in that of the persons alone mentioned hereafter, it was ascertained that the tomb remained quite perfect, and the first operations were commenced in the most profound silence, between midnight and one o'clock the morning."

THE TOMB AT ST. HELENA.

"We first caused the iron railing which surrounded the tomb to be removed; we then uncovered the surface of the tomb to the extent of five metres, forty-six centimetres, in length, and two metres, forty-two centimetres, in breadth, being composed of three ranges of mason-work, fifteen centimetres thick, fixed into another foundation of mason-work. This first operation was concluded at half past one o'clock. A rectangular wall then presented itself, forming, as we afterwards found, the four sides of a vault, being eleven feet deep, eight feet long, and four feet eight inches wide. This vault was entirely filled with clay to within six inches of the mason-work; after having excavated and removed the earth out of the vault, we came to a bed of Roman cement; this bed having been completely uncovered at three o'clock the undersigned commissioners descended into the vault, and ascertained that this cement was perfectly unbroken. The cement having been pierced, it was found that it covered another bed ten feet deep, which

was bound together with bands of iron, which it required four hours and a half labour to remove. The extreme difficulty of this operation induced the undersigned English commissioner to have a trench dug on the left side of the vault, and to demolish the corresponding side wall, and thus arrive at the coffin, in case the upper bed of cement should oppose too great a resistance; but the cement having been entirely removed at eight o'clock in the morning, the trench was abandoned, after having been dug to the depth of five feet. Immediately under this bed of cement we discovered a covering of mason-work six feet long, three feet wide, and five feet deep, forming, as we afterwards found, the covering of the sarcophagus. This latter mason-work having been carefully removed, everything was ready at half-past nine o'clock to open the sarcophagus. Dr. Guillard then purified the tomb by sprinkling chloride of lime over it. As soon as the flag which covered the coffin was removed by the orders of the undersigned English commissioner, and that the coffin was discovered, all the persons present took off their hats. The Abbé Coquereau sprinkled holy water and recited the *De Profundis*."

THE OPENING OF THE COFFIN.

"The undersigned commissioners then descended to examine the coffin, which was found quite perfect, except a small portion of the lower part, which, although it rested on a foundation of granite, was slightly decayed. After some further sanatory precautions had been taken, an express was sent to the Governor, to announce the progress of the works. The coffin was then withdrawn and placed under a tent prepared to receive it, and the chaplain raised the body according to the rites of the Catholic church. The undersigned commissioners then descended into the sarcophagus, which they found in a perfect state of preservation, and entirely to correspond with the official description of the burial. Towards eleven o'clock, the undersigned French commissioner having been assured that his Excellency the Governor had authorised the opening of the coffins, the exterior wooden coffin was carefully removed, when a leaden coffin was discovered, in good preservation, which was placed in the coffin brought from France. His Excellency the Governor, accompanied by the officers of his staff, then arrived at the tent, when the upper part of the lead coffin was removed with the greatest care, and a wooden coffin appeared in good preservation, and answering the description given by persons present at the funeral. The cover of the third coffin having been removed, a tin ornament, slightly rusted, was seen, which was removed, and a white satin sheet was perceived, which was detached with the greatest precaution by the doctor, and Napoleon's body was exposed to view. His features were so little changed that his face was recognised by those who had known him when alive. The different articles which had been deposited in the coffin were found exactly as they had been placed. The hands were singularly well preserved. The uniform, the orders, the hat, were very little changed. His entire person presented the appearance of one lately interred. The body was not exposed to the external air longer than two minutes at most, which were necessary for the surgeon to take measures to prevent any alteration, according to his instructions. The tin coffin and the first wooden coffin were immediately closed, as well as the leaden coffin, which was soldered down with the greatest care by Dr. Guillard, and strongly fixed in the new leaden coffin sent from Paris, which was likewise carefully soldered down. The new ebony coffin was then locked, and the key handed to the French commissioner. The undersigned English commissioner then declared to the French commissioner, that the disinterment having been completed, the remains of the Emperor Napoleon might be considered at the disposal of the French Government. The French commissioner replied, that he was ready to accept the remains in the name of his Government, and was ready, as well as the other persons of the mission, to accompany them to James Town, where his Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville was ready to receive them from the Governor, and to conduct them on board the French frigate *Belle Poule*, which had been commissioned to transport them to

France. The coffin was placed upon a funeral car, and covered with an Imperial pall, presented by the French commissioner, and at half-past 3 o'clock the procession set out, in the following order, under the command of his Excellency the Governor, whom a severe indisposition prevented from assisting at the labours of the previous night:—

PROCESSION FROM THE TOMB TO JAMES TOWN.

"The Militia Regiment of St. Helena, under the command of Colonel Seale; the detachment of the 91st Regiment of British Infantry, commanded by Captain Blackwell; the Militia band, the Abbé Coquereau with two choristers, the funeral car escorted by a detachment of the Royal Artillery, the corners of the pall held by Lieutenant-General Count Bertrand, Lieutenant-General Baron Gourgaud, the Baron de Las Cases, and MM. Marchand, St. Denis, Noveraz, Archambault, and Piéron. The French Commissioner conducted the mourning procession, having the Captains Guyet and Charner, M. Arthur Bertrand, M. Coursot, an old servant of the Emperor, Captain Doret, and Dr. Guillard; the civil and military authorities, according to their rank; his Excellency the Governor, accompanied by the Grand Judge and Colonel Hodson, members of the Council; a company of the Royal Artillery; the principal inhabitants of the island, in deep mourning. Minute guns were fired during the procession. When the funeral car arrived at James Town it defiled between two files of the soldiers of the garrison with reversed arms, who lined the town from the entrance to the landing-place. The procession arrived at the extremity of the quay at half past five. His Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville, accompanied by Captain Hernoux, and surrounded by the staff of the three French vessels, *La Belle Poule, La Favorite*, and *L'Oreste*, received the imperial coffin from the Governor, which was immediately embarked on board a boat prepared to receive it, and conducted in a solemn manner on board the *Belle Poule*, where it was received by the Prince with royal honours. In faith of which we, the undersigned commissioners, have drawn up the present memorandum, and sealed it with our arms. Made double between us at St. Helena, this 15th day of October, in the year of grace 1840. "ROHAN CHABOT.

"Witness, MIDDLEMORE. "ALEXANDER.

The commissioners, both French and English, agreed that the persons who assisted at the disinterment of the Emperor Napoleon should attach their names to this document, as follow:—

"BERTRAND.	"COQUEREAU.	"CHARNER.
"GOURGAUD.	"A. BERTRAND.	"DORET.
"DE LAS CASES.	"GUYER.	"GUILLARD."

6.—APPEARANCE OF THE BODY OF THE EMPEROR.

Dr. Guillard (Remi Julien), surgeon of the *Belle Poule*, who was present at the disinterment, gives the following account of the state in which he found the body of the Emperor:—

"The body of the Emperor had an easy position, the same as when he was placed in the coffin; the superior members were stretched out, the lower part of the arm and the left hand resting on the corresponding thigh; the inferior members somewhat depressed. The head, a little raised, rested on a cushion; his skull, of ample volume, and his high and broad forehead, were covered with yellowish teguments, hard and very adherent. The orbs of the eyes offered the same appearance, and the upper part was lined with eyelids; the balls of the eyes were entire, but had lost somewhat of their volume and shape. The eyelids, completely closed, adhered to the under parts, and were hard; the bones of the nose, and the teguments which covered them, were well preserved; the tube and the sides alone had suffered. The cheeks were full. The teguments of that portion of the face were remarkable for their soft supple feel and their whitish colour; those of the

chin were slightly bluish, and derived that colour from the beard, which appeared to have grown after death. The chin itself was not in the least altered, and still preserved the character peculiar to Napoleon's countenance. The lips were thinned and asunder, and three of the front teeth, extremely white, were seen under the upper lip, which was slightly raised to the left. The hands were perfect, and did not exhibit any sort of alteration: if the articulations had lost their motion, the skin appeared to have preserved the colour of life; and the fingers bore long, adherent, and very white nails; the legs were enclosed in boots, but in consequence of the threads of the latter being worn, the four last toes were visible on both sides. The skin of those toes was of a dull white, and the nails were still adherent. The front region of the thorax was strongly depressed in the middle; the coats of the abdomen hard, and fallen in; the members appeared to have preserved their shape under the clothes which covered them. I pressed the left arm, it was hard, and had lost somewhat of its volume."

ARRIVAL OF THE REMAINS IN FRANCE.

As soon as the vessels arrived off Cherbourg,* and the intelligence reached the shore, the greatest interest was excited amongst the inhabitants of all classes. At seven o'clock, the *rappel* beat for the National Guards to assemble. At eight o'clock, a detachment of the 1st Regiment of the Line, and a full attendance of the National Guard and the Artillery, notwithstanding a heavy fall of rain, marched into the *Port Militaire* (in which the frigate *Belle Poule* was moored), and lined the quays, together with the crews of the *Friedland* ship of the line, and other seamen belonging to the port. Had it not been for the weather, which was cold and wet, it would have been an imposing sight, as almost the entire population of Cherbourg and the neighbourhood flocked into the port, to view the ceremony of transferring the remains of Napoleon from the *Belle Poule* to the *Normandie* steam boat, which was to convey them to the Upper Seine. At sunrise, all the ships of war in the port and roadstead, except the *Belle Poule*, slung their yards and hoisted their colours half-mast high, and all the French merchant ships did the same. The mass intended to be performed on board the *Belle Poule* was prevented by the rain, so that the transfer was made immediately after the absolution. The maritime prefect, the general in command of the department, the prefect of the department, the presidents of the Civil Tribunal and the Tribunal of Commerce, the mayor and his deputies, the ten municipal councillors, the commandant of the citadel, the procureur du roi, the chiefs of the national guard and troops, and all the captains of the navy, were present. At half past nine, the whole of the national guards, the troops of the line, and the marines, were drawn up on the quay, and when the *Belle Poule* hoisted the standard at

* The following coincidences have been remarked on the occasion of the arrival of Napoleon's remains at Cherbourg. The *Belle Poule*, on entering with them, came to an anchor at the precise point where, in 1830, was stationed the vessel in which the elder branch of the Bourbons embarked to quit France. The *Belle Poule* came into this port, which was once called Port Napoleon, on the 2nd of December, the anniversary of the great victory at Austerlitz. One of the three ships of the line, then on the stocks at Cherbourg was named after this battle. Another, called the *Tilsit*, commemorated one of the glorious events of the empire. The *Friedland*, then fitting for sea, was thus originally named, but on the birth of the Emperor's son was re-christened *le Roi de Rome*; and after having changed its appellation ten times, has at length resumed its pristine name of *Friedland*, and was lying within fifty yards of the *Belle Poule* when she anchored with her freight from St. Helena.

her topmast, the troops presented arms, and the drums beat the salute. At a given signal, all the forts and batteries, and all the ships of war, fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. The coffin was then hoisted on board the *Normandie* steamer, which had been moored with her stern to the *Belle Poule's* broadside, and from the frigate to the after-deck of the steam-boat was erected a platform, over which the assistants walked, bearing the coffin, preceded by General Bertrand, whose venerable appearance, and the emotion which he evinced, attracted universal sympathy. When the coffin had been placed on the after-deck of the steamer, and the ornaments were fixed in the same position as when on board the frigate, the steamer was slowly hauled off some distance; she then set on her steam, and proceeded out of the port into the roads, attended by the *Courrier* and *Veloce* government steamers, and the *Rodeur* cutter.

The chapel was decorated in a style which was simple but rich. The coffin was covered with the magnificent pall of violet coloured velvet already described. At the head of the coffin was placed an imperial crown of gold covered with crape, and at each of the four corners a crown of laurel and gold. The altar was supported by eagles formed of gilt wood, and the hangings were of violet-coloured velvet with gold fringe.

The most imposing effect was produced by the quantity of lighted wax-lights and flambeaux, which surrounded the coffin.

At half past two o'clock, the guns of the forts announced the sailing of the *cortége* for Havre, and the immense concourse of spectators who lined the quays, gradually dispersed.

All the administrative agents of the towns situate upon the route, received especial orders upon the subject, from the Minister of the Interior; and in all the towns and villages on the banks of the Seine the necessary dispositions were in consequence taken.

The day was gloomy and wet, with a thick haze at sea, and a sharp breeze threatened to blow into a gale. Towards evening, however, the weather cleared up, and before nine o'clock the moon shone forth with all her brightness, presenting, where its rays struck the sea, a sheet of silver, tinged more or less as the eye travelled over the space, with shades of a dark hue, thus enhancing the brilliancy of the sparks emitted.

A dark speck in the blue vault of heaven had been for some time visible in the afternoon from Havre, and as it neared, it was hailed by the anxious hearts of many, as the approach of all that was left of France's immortal hero, thus ushered in by the favouring elements, as it were with a smile, at the mouth of that river in his native land, on the banks of which it had been his dying wish that his mortal remains should repose. All doubts were soon set at rest by the vessel in question sailing sufficiently close to shore to be recognised for *La Normandie*, war-steamer, convoyed at a short distance by two others of the same class, but of smaller calibre. These were joined by *La Seine*, from the port of Havre, and, proceeding again to sea, they anchored about two miles from shore for the night. The intelligence of the flotilla's arrival soon spread throughout the town, as was manifest from the crowds which continued to pour to the quays and ramparts.

From the hour of five, on the following morning, the town was in a complete state of turmoil, the general apprehension of the early departure of the convoy having roused a great portion of the population to motion. On

the preceding night the authorities communicated with the Prince de Joinville, but he declined to receive them, having strict orders from Government to allow no intercourse from or with shore; but he promised that *La Normandie* and convoy should not sail till daylight.

The stillness which reigned among the crowds collected, as *La Normandie* left her moorings, and steered direct for the projecting outwork to the north-east of the town, where the authorities had assembled—the slow approach of the magnificent vessel, her black hull surmounted by her tapering masts, to which were attached the banners of France, gently fluttering in the breeze—the character of the service she was engaged in—all conspired to impress the beholder with that feeling of solemnity so fitting to the moment. It gave to the simple scene a majestic and imposing effect. The sun rose as she advanced, and shone in all its splendour, gilding the skies, and giving a brightness to all around.

When within fifty yards of shore, *La Normandie* turned her head towards the river, and glided past the batteries of the town. As she commenced this manœuvre, the first gun was fired, followed instantaneously by another, till each had given its first salute. *La Veloce* anchored off the town, and returned the salute. *La Normandie* had all her flags floating mast high, in signs of rejoicing, but with crape attached. The other vessels had a single tri-coloured flag trailing aft, in sign of mourning. The coffin, raised upon supporters to within six feet of deck, was distinctly visible from shore. The imperial mantle covered the whole, sweeping to the ground. On a cushion at the head of the coffin rested the imperial crown covered with crape; at its foot lay a wreath of green laurel; and in the centre, a chaplet of gold, given by the town of Cherbourg. Behind the head of the coffin at the altar, stood a priest in full canonicals; near him at each side of the altar were several general officers, the Prince de Joinville standing alone at the foot. Wax lights were burning around, and a sentry, with musket and bayonet fixed, was placed at each corner. The forepart of the vessel was crowded with seamen, as were the decks of her convoy.

La Normandie and convoy steered their way towards Honfleur, where they received a salute; the authorities, national guard, and troops of the line, besides a numerous population, crowding the quays and shore. *Le Courrier* here sailed for the right bank of the river, to take in tow a small cutter of six guns, which was employed to fire one of her guns every quarter of an hour, and rejoined her convoy at Quittebœuf. There and along the whole banks of the river, wherever a hamlet appeared, some testimony of respect for the departed was sure to greet the *cortége*. The national guard were conspicuous throughout, and in many places manifested their desire to do him honour by discharges of musketry. The sailors from *La Belle Poule*, evidently men picked to serve on board the Prince's frigate, added much to the imposing effect of the scene. They were stationed in two lines along the sides of the steamers, and at a given signal raised, in acknowledgement of the honours rendered, their low-crowned black leather hats as they passed each place. At Caudebec the cutter was left behind, firing a farewell salute.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the vessels took up their station between Val-de-la-Haie and Couronne, the former being on the right, and the latter on the left bank of the Seine.

At Val-de-la-Haie were stationed several small steamers, *La Dorade*, that destined to receive the Emperor's remains, being easily distinguished from the rest, by the purple velvet drapery which adorned its sides in festoons; it had also several trophies of tri-coloured flags attached at small distances from each other along the sides, and a canopy erected aft, besides other adornments. How different this from the good taste with which everything was done on board *La Normandie!* Nothing there was out of unison with the character of the scene, nothing to carry away the mind from the solemnity of death—from the grandeur of simplicity on such an occasion. Here all was offensive; such ornaments might be fitting for a festive scene, or as an honour to living greatness; but they in no way belonged to a funeral *cortége*, and above all were out of place in that of such a man as the Emperor Napoleon.

On *La Normandie* taking up its station here, amid such tributes of respect as the place could afford, the prince took boat, and visited *La Dorade* and each vessel provided for the conveyance of his escort.

The 10th being fixed for the arrival of the remains at Rouen, the population of the neighbourhood poured in from all directions during the night, and in the course of the morning there could not be less than 150,000 persons assembled in the city. Nothing could exceed the anxiety manifested everywhere on the occasion, and before break of day the National Guards of Louviers, Pont de l'Arche, and the numerous villages around were ready to march to the general rendezvous, the Pont de l'Arche, although the general convoy could not possibly arrive there before three o'clock. The weather was extremely cold, the entire country was covered with hoar frost, and a dense fog prevailed during the night, which but partially cleared in the morning: the sun did not appear for an instant, and nature presented a mournful aspect, quite in unison with the ceremony about to take place.

The moment it became known that the *Normandie* steamer had left Cherbourg, Baron Dupent Delporte, the prefect of the department of the Lower Seine, addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants:—

"Fellow Citizens,—The department of Lower Seine will be the first traversed by the funeral *cortége*, proceeding under the direction of his Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville towards the capital of the kingdom, where memorable ceremonies are to be celebrated, in presence of the great bodies of the state, the contemporary illustrations, and the prodigies of arts. The event in history, perhaps presents itself with the character of grandeur which accompanies the unhoped-for removal of the remains of the Emperor Napoleon. When the vessel conveying those venerated ashes shall advance slowly along the river, you will receive it with that religious feeling and those deep emotions which are ever produced by the recollection of the misfortunes of the country, its triumphs, and its glory. You will render the last honours to that great man with the calmness and dignity becoming a population which has so often experienced the benefit of his protecting power, and of his special solicitude."

The Mayor of Rouen, M. Barbet, also addressed his constituents in the following terms:—

"Beloved fellow citizens,—After twenty-five years exile in a foreign land. Napoleon is at last restored to us. A French Prince, the worthy son of our citizen king, brings back to France what remains of the great Emperor. In a few days those glorious ashes will rest in peace under the national safeguard of his glory, and the remains of his invincible phalanxes. A few instants only are allowed us

to salute the coffin of the hero who caused the French name to be respected throughout the world;—let us employ them, beloved citizens, in solemnly manifesting the sympathies which are in the hearts of a population, over whom the Emperor once extended his powerful and protecting hand. Let us unite with a religious feeling in the triumphal funeral, reserved to him by the city where his glory and genius are stamped with immortal grandeur."

Napoleon did a great deal for Rouen, and mainly contributed to render it one of the most commercial and manufacturing cities in the kingdom. "Paris, Rouen, and Havre," said he, on one occasion, "shall form one great city, of which the Seine shall be the main street,"—a project which he would have realized, had the fortunes of war permitted. The Rouennais, therefore, feel a great veneration for his memory, and they were determined on paying his remains a becoming tribute of gratitude, had it not been for the inexorable programme sent down from Paris, to which they were obliged strictly to conform, but they at least evinced their sense of respect for their benefactor, by the eagerness with which they congregated on his passage, and by their collected deportment during the short time his mortal remains were allowed to stop within their walls.

The Municipal Council had voted 25,000 francs, (1,000*l.*) to defray the expences of the honours to be paid the Emperor, and which were employed partly in decorating both banks of the river, and partly for charitable purposes. Round the barrier, formed by the Pont de Pierre and the suspension-bridge, a number of pyramids, covered with purple lustring, spotted with gold tears, and on the bases of which were inscribed the names of the principal battles of the empire, had been erected. The suspension bridge was ornamented with various emblems peculiar to that period, and in the centre stood a triumphal arch of the largest proportions, made of the same cloth, all spotted over with bees (the programme estimates their number at 36,000, and the yards of cloth used at 20,000), and surmounted by eagles, and figures of Fame and Victory. On the left bank of the Seine, a long gallery, also in lustring and covered with mournful emblems, had been prepared for the accommodation of the civil, judiciary, military, and religious authorities. The Pont de Pierre, in the centre of which stands the bronze statue of Corneille, the Shakspeare of the French stage, had also been handsomely decorated, and exhibited an extraordinary profusion of trophies and tri-coloured flags; finally, in the centre of the river, two kiosks had been built, not merely for the *coup d'œil*, but also to conceal two piers of the old wooden bridge which have not been removed. Along the Quay du Havre, and on the opposite quay de la Grand Chaussee, were stationed two *vaisseax d'honneur*, large merchant vessels decorated with the colours of all nations, and a broad British flag flying at the top of the highest mast. To these and the hoisting of an oriflamme fifty feet long, issuing from a cluster of tri-coloured banners, placed at the extremity of the spire of the Cathedral, were the official decorations confined. The inhabitants, on the other hand, had suspended tri-coloured flags from their windows, but none had gone to greater expense to welcome the captive of St. Helena than the owners of the two English hotels, Smith's Albion, and the Great British Hotel, both situate on the quay, outstripped the French themselves by the number of bees, tears, and crowned "N's," and the quantity of black crape and tri-coloured flags they had appended from the balconies of their establishments.

So early as half-past seven o'clock in the morning, detachments of Cuirassiers, who had been marched into the town on the preceding day, began to take up a position along the quay, and the drummers of the National Guard beat the *rappel*. At nine o'clock, the judges and advocates of the Cour Royal of Rouen proceeded in carriages escorted by gendarmerie to the places prepared for them. The Archbishop of Rouen and his assistants, all dressed in their richest ornaments, left the Archiepiscopal Palace at the same hour. The Prefect of the department and the municipal body proceeded on foot, as did the students of the college. The retired officers, the members of the Legion of Honour, the wounded and soldiers of the old army of the empire, who had assembled at the Town-hall, traversed the streets, bearing *immortelles* * and crowns of laurel, and went to take their station under the triumphal arch.

These constituted the most interesting portion of the *cortège*. They were from 1,400 to 1,500 in number. The masters of the ceremonies had at first resolved on excluding from the honours of the *fête* all those who had not held the rank of officers in the army, but an article, published in the *Journal de Rouen*, expressive of public reprobation, brought the exclusionists to a sense of reason, and officers and soldiers were indiscriminately admitted. Some of them, particularly the soldiers, wore the uniforms of the corps to which they had formerly belonged. Amongst them was noticed a *chasseur a cheval* of the Imperial Guard, who had lost a leg, and a very old man, dressed in the uniform of the "terrible" 57th demi-brigade of the army of Italy. All looked radiant, though sorrowful, and many had tears rolling in their eyes. "Oh! that I lived to see this day," exclaimed an old Legionnaire. "I shall now die happy. My country may again defy the world, we have got back our palladium." Another, who evidently laboured under a double cause of emotion, profanely cried out as he passed along, "He is my God! my eternal Father! I know no other." A third, stationed at the rear of the column, evincing some fears as to the solidity of the iron bridge to bear so considerable a weight, an old "grognard" walking by him observed, "It is easy to see that you were not with us at the passage of the Bridge of Berezina, or you would not be so squeamish." The young soldiers appeared no less affected than these veterans. A person standing by a group of officers of Cuirassiers, on the quay, heard one of them, a lieutenant, say to the others—"I would give a great deal to be able to command my emotion; but I feel that when the convoy comes up I shall cry like a child, and I shall look so foolish at the head of my men."

In the meantime, the National Guards, who had assembled at eight o'clock in their respective quarters, were met marching in every direction towards the river; all to a man were at their post; even those who had no uniforms felt bound to attend in plain clothes, with tri-coloured cockades in their hats. The three first battalions drew up along the right bank, between the Mature and the suspension-bridge, with the fireman to the right, and a squadron of cavalry on their rear, and the three others, with the second squadron, formed *en bataille* on the opposite side of the bank,

* Certain dried flowers so called.

between the suspension-bridge and the Grand Cours. The officers all wore crape on their arms and swords; the flags and banners were wrapped up in black veils and the drums were muffled. On the opposite section of the quays, facing the National Guards, and on the Ponte de Pierre, were drawn up several regiments of infantry, and behind them were Cuirassiers and gendarmes, employed in keeping off the curious multitude, and preventing them from approaching too near the river.

The shops throughout the town were almost all closed, and every window and balcony which could command a view of the river was filled with spectators.

At about eleven o'clock, the fog cleared away, and the *coup d'œil* was admirable, when the smoke of the first steam-boat was observed, and a discharge of artillery announced that the convoy was entering the precincts of the city. It was immediately responded to by the cannon of the National Guards, stationed, since six o'clock in the morning, on the Coté St. Catherine, and by the batteries of the Vaisseaux d'Honneur, which afterwards fired a shot every minute, until the close of the religious ceremony. The bells of the churches rung the knell, and the bands of the National Guard and troops played funeral marches. The procession was opened by the steamer *La Parisienne,* on board of which were several municipal officers. This vessel was followed by a second, which appeared to contain none but the crew; the third was the *Bateau Catafalque,* and after her came ten other steamers. They all stopped at the extremity of the island du Petit Gay, to take in pilots, and shortly afterwards resumed their course, proceeding at a slow rate, to enable the people to see the Catafalque as it passed. It was raised on the prow of *the Dorade* steamer, to which it had been transferred from *La Normandie.* At its four corners stood Generals Gourgaud and Bertrand, M. Marchand, his *valet de chambre,* and an officer of the Parisian National Guard. Behind was an altar, surmounted with a large eagle and fasces of tri-coloured flags, next to which were placed the Abbé Coquereau, the chaplain of the expedition, and his two acolytes. After him came the Prince de Joinville, leading the mourners, surrounded by his staff and other persons who had accompanied him to St. Helena, and in the rear were one hundred seamen of the *Belle Poule* frigate. The coffin was covered with the imperial mantle, and different other insignias of the Emperor, and everything on board bore N's, and other devices and emblems of the empire. As the convoy passed along, the drums beat the march, the troops and National guards presented arms, and the banners were inclined. On reaching the suspension-bridge, upon which stood the triumphal arch, the steamer paused for a while, and the military veterans defiled before the coffin, throwing their crowns on, and saluting the catafalque with '*Vive Napoleon!*' She then passed under the arch, and took her station alone in the centre of the basin, fired several salutes, and remained there for about twenty minutes, while the Archbishop read prayers, and pronounced the absolution.

Immediately afterwards a salute of six rounds from the shore announced that the ceremony would henceforth assume a triumphal character, the bells rung in peals, all signs of mourning disappeared, the bands played national airs, the troops presented arms, and the artillerymen of the National Guard fired 101 rounds.

The Prince de Joinville, in compliance with the orders he had received, not to quit his charge for an instant, remained on deck all the time; but, shortly before weighing anchor, he sent his aide-de-camp, Captain Hernoux, in a boat, to compliment the authorities in his name, but without going on shore. A moment afterwards the Catafalque boat cleared the Pont de Pierre, and the escort steamers followed in the same order, and were soon out of sight. The multitudes retired in the most perfect order, but it was three hours before persons could move with ease, in consequence of the dense crowds that filled the streets. The expense of the day's ceremony amounted, it is said, to upwards of 60,000 francs, 2,400*l.* The entire proceeding reflected great credit on the authorities, and not less on the people, for the good order which was maintained and observed, so contrary to what had been apprehended. "Not a single accident," says the French Ministerial Evening Journal, "occurred to disturb the order and solemn interest of this imposing scene, and at every point the people combined with the expression of their admiration of the character of the departed Emperor, their attachment to the present dynasty." The correspondent of a daily paper at Rouen writes:—"The decorations of the steamer which bore the mortal remains of the Emperor were extremely simple." The fact is, that the Prince de Joinville had removed the showy decorations. The whole was most admirably conducted, and presented a very impressive aspect. It was remarked that the only times during the ceremony, when cries of *Vive l' Empereur!* were uttered, were when the veteran soldiers threw garlands on the coffin, and saluted the remains of their old chief, and when the boats were just starting to leave Rouen, at which moment the pupils of the college, stationed on the quay, raised a loud shout in honour of Napoleon. The Mayor of Rouen ordered a medal to be struck in commemoration of the event.

Two accidents unfortunately occurred, a man trying to hoist a flag on the top of the powder magazine fell from the edifice, and was killed on the spot; and another slipped from the quay into the river, and was drowned.

At Caudebec, when the procession passed, a National Guard was so much affected that he fell down in a fit of apoplexy, and was with difficulty restored to animation.

At ten o'clock the same evening, the flotilla passed by Pont de l'Arche, and took up a station half a league above the town. The National Guards from the arrondissement of Louviers, having at their head the Prefect of the Eure, the general commanding in the department, and all the principal authorities, were on the shores, and the deepest silence prevailed.

The imperial train was received at Mantes on Saturday morning, the 12th, about ten o'clock, by the clergy in their sacerdotal robes; the Mayor, accompanied by the municipal body; the tribunal and public functionaries of the arrondissement, with the Sous Prefet at their head. The National Guard formed in line on each side of the river, and presented arms as the coffin passed. An immense concourse of people was present at the ceremony, and conducted themselves with the most profound respect and devotion.

The flotilla arrived at Poissy in the course of the same evening, and a camp was formed by the National Guard and the troops of the line, on the right bank of the Seine, where they bivouacked all night, notwith-

standing the intense cold. On Sunday morning, the Abbe Coquereau, chaplain to the expedition to St. Helena, celebrated mass on the deck of *the Dorade*, at which the population, which had assembled on the banks of the Seine in immense numbers, assisted, in the most religious silence.

At twelve o'clock, the Prince de Joinville left his station at Poissy, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, and arrived at Maisons at seven o'clock, where similar honours were rendered.

At both these points great crowds of people from the surrounding districts, and numbers of Parisians, came to witness the spectacle.

On Monday morning the flotilla advanced from Maisons to St. Germains, a town beautifully situated about twelve miles from Paris, and containing a population of 11,000 persons. Its vicinity to Paris brought immense crowds from the capital, to witness the passage of the funeral. From seven o'clock in the morning, the railway trains from Paris continued to pour fourth their thousands, and the roads from all parts of the country, as well as from Paris, were encumbered with foot passengers and every description of vehicle, all verging to one common centre. The preparations made were very extensive and magnificent. On the bridge was stationed a band of two hundred musicians, to perform solemn symphonies as the steamer came up the river. All the civil and military authorities of the Seine-et-Ouse assembled in their state dresses, and the National Guards of St. Germains and Versailles were under arms on the shores. By ten o'clock, a dense mass of people were collected on each side of the river, and on the site of the town of St. Germains. The lofty heights were covered with persons at every opening left by the houses and villas, the windows of these being also occupied, and tapestry and the national colours being appended to many of the walls. The bridge was ornamented with flags and pennants, the municipal authorities and troops lining it, as indeed the banks of the river. Infantry and cavalry of the regular troops, and of the civic guard from St. Germains, Versailles, and other places, were present, to about 8,000 men; and the artillery of the National Guard fired minute guns. At eleven o'clock the first steamer was perceived, and was hailed with the loudest acclamations. The flotilla proceeded in much the same order as when it quitted Rouen, but was this time attended by a brilliant band; two hundred of the best performers of the metropolis, under the leadership of the chief of the orchestra at the Opera, being in attendance on board one of the vessels, and playing funeral symphonies and military music. An enthusiastic cry of "*Vive l' Empereur!*" burst forth on the near approach of *La Dorade*, which was saluted by the national flag as she passed under the bridge.

The flotilla passed on amid every possible demonstration of attachment to Napoleon, and national rejoicing at the recovery of his remains. From this spot the shores were lined by thousands of Parisians, who, regardless of the bitter cold, assembled to view the steamers as they passed. At the successive villages of Chatou, Epinai, St. Denis, and Amiens, on the banks of the Seine, the civil and military authorities of the district assembled, and did all in their power to contribute to the pomp and magnificence of the procession.

At Annieres, a small village two miles below Courbevoie, lay the massive and gorgeous vessel which had been built to convey Napoleon's remains

from Val-de-la-Haie. A receptacle for these had been raised on its deck, in the form of an Egyptian temple, oblong in build, open at the sides, with plain square columns, supporting a flat roof, but supported in front by four statues, on the heads of which it appeared to rest, the entrance to this temple being by several steps; the vessel having an immense eagle (gilded) as a figure-head, and bronze shields being suspended all round, with the names of victories, trophies of arms, flags surmounted by the imperial eagle, and its bulkhead covered with laurels and immortelles. In the front and rear were four tripods throwing out flames, and round the tomb were engraved on eschutcheons the names of the principal victories of the Republic and Empire. This magnificent and expensive piece of craftmanship was not used for the purpose it was destined for, from its great weight, rendering it impossible it should be towed up by any steamer on the river, in time for the translation to take place on the 15th instant. But the vessel formed part of the convoy from Annieres to Courbevoie, and had a magnificent effect.

The *cortège* proceeded slowly to Courbevoie, a small village about four miles from Paris, situated on one of the delightful eminences which diversify the left bank of the Seine, at a short distance from Neuilly. On the summit of the hill on which the village stands, are some magnificent barracks erected by Louis XV. The population of the village is about 2,000, but on this night every house was densely crowded with persons, anxious to obtain an early view of the ceremony on the following morning.

The flotilla arrived at Courbevoie at half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, and the same honours as those decreed at Pecq, Chatou, Epinai, St. Denis, &c., were there paid the remains of the Emperor. The five battalions stationed at Courbevoie were under arms, and drawn up along the left bank of the river, which was covered with an immense multitude, who saluted the remains with deafening acclamations. The National Guards had not been called out, as it was found impossible to land the coffin until the next morning; but they were represented by their officers, who had repaired to the beach with the authorities of the surrounding districts. As each of the steamers came up, she fired a salute, and then they took the stations assigned to them for the night, on both banks of the river. One of them towed up the boat adorned with laurels and *immortelles*, on the deck of which arose the monumental tomb, that had been prepared by the inhabitants of Neuilly, and which was sent down to meet the convoy as far as Annieres.

The decorations on the quay and at the head of the bridge of Neuilly could not be completed in time for the ceremony. The wind was so piercingly cold that the workmen were unable to raise to the top of the rostral column of Notre Dame de Grace a ball of the world, six feet in diameter, and a huge eagle which was to crown the whole. The column was to have been upwards of 150 feet in height. It stood on a base of three stages, the first of which rested on the abutment of the bridge, and was to have been adorned with a *basso-relievo*, representing the passage of the *Belle Poule* frigate to and from St. Helena. On the second were to be placed naval trophies, and on the third a figure of Notre Dame de Grace, the patroness of sailors. But, owing to the cold, the authorities ordered the works to be suspended at five o'clock, and the column remained a mere

skeleton. Its base only presented the following inscription, containing the last request of Napoleon:—"I wish my ashes to repose on the banks of the Seine."

Next to it were raised three tripods twenty feet high and handsomely decorated, from which arose volumes of flames. The wharf, or *debarcadère* constructed for the landing of the coffin, was terminated by an open Grecian temple, one hundred feet high, under which the body was to lie in state, and to be afterwards transferred to the funeral car. This temple, of a handsome and tasteful structure, was decorated at its angles with branches of palm and tri-coloured flags, and the eagle, with displayed wings and spanning sixteen feet, which was to have surmounted the rostral column, was placed over the front of the temple.

But the most interesting decoration of all was a colossal statue of the Empress Josephine, erected at the extremity of the bridge of Neuilly, on the road leading to the Chateau de Malmaison.

At five o'clock, Marshal Soult, Admiral Duperré and M. Duchatel arrived at Courbevoie, and repaired on board the *Dorade* steamer, to pay their homage to the Prince de Joinville. Shortly afterwards the Duke de Nemours joined them, and spent part of the night with his brother. All the steamers were illuminated, and the tripods of the tumular boat threw out flames during the whole night.

The Prince de Joinville remained on board, and only a few of the sailors were allowed to land. One man, however, came ashore by special leave, and he no sooner set his foot on the quay than he was surrounded and embraced by all the Generals, in presence of all the troops. This man, Sergeant Hubert, had never abandoned the Emperor dead or alive. After the demise of Napoleon, he assigned to himself the mission of guarding his tomb, which he had piously discharged ever since the 5th of May, 1821. Hubert was dressed in the uniform of the Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, and wore the decoration of the Legion of Honour.

Having thus followed the remains of the Emperor in their route, towards their final resting place, we must take leave to transport the reader to Paris, that he may survey the preparations made to receive the imperial relics.

We have already stated, that as soon as the Prince de Joinville received orders to proceed to St. Helena, directions were given for effecting the numerous arrangements rendered necessary to celebrate the fete upon that scale of magnificence and grandeur, becoming so august and solemn a ceremony.

The Esplanade of the Invalides, the Quai D'Orsay, the Pont de la Concorde, the Champs Elysées, the Avenue de Neuilly, the Bridge of Neuilly and Courbevoie, where the imperial remains were to land, were crowded with masons, stucco men, and plasterers, engaged in erecting and decorating hundreds of columns and pedestals, whilst all the houses along the line were being laid out for the reception of spectators, at from thirty to fifty, and at even one hundred francs a head; nay, so strong was the desire to obtain a sight of the spectacle, that it is said a single balcony let for as much as 3000 francs. Crowds of foreigners and inhabitants of the department were arriving for more than a week previous to the day fixed for the cere-

mony; and it might have been imagined from the bustle and excitement, that it was rather the inauguration than the funeral of the Emperor that was about to take place. But the persons most delighted with the return of Napoleon's remains were the invalids of the Imperial Army. Their joy approached to insanity; they were brushing up their uniforms, and polishing their sabres, as if for a grand review by the great captain.

The officers of the National Guard of Paris drew lots for the Legion which was to escort the Funeral Car from Courbevoie to the Invalides, and the honour fell on the third Legion.

Among the Polish emigrants are a great number of ancient servants of the empire; for instance, the Generals Knaiziewrez, Malachowski, Skrzynecki, Seltgk, Sierawski, Gawroncki, Skarzinski, Dwenicki, &c., and they requested permission of the Minister of War to be allowed to send a deputation to the funeral ceremonies of the Emperor.

The first rehearsal of the music to be performed at the Invalides, on the arrival of the Emperor's remains, took place at the Royal Opera on the 10th. The number of performers engaged was four hundred. Besides all the celebrated *artistes* and the chorus singers of the Opera, the most distinguished students of the Conservatoire joined. Another rehearsal took place subsequently, and the correspondent of the *Times* speaking of it, says,

"At the moment at which I write, all the world (who could procure tickets) are at the Academie Royal de Musique, listening to the final rehearsal of the funeral music (by four hundred performers). The Rue le pellitier, the Boulevards, and every street in the neighbourhood of them, are filled with equipages, the proprietors of which had been for some hours *en file*, awaiting the opening of the doors."

The following programme was issued by the Minister of the Interior relative to the funeral ceremony:—

"The funeral train, bearing the immortal remains of the Emperor Napoleon, will arrive at Courbevoie on Monday, the 14th of December.

"Its arrival will be announced by a salvo of twenty-one cannon shots fired from the Royal Hotel des Invalides.

"The great bell of Notre Dame, and the bells of all the churches in Paris, will toll on Monday evening, the 14th of December, and the following day, from the moment the procession leaves Courbevoie till the end of the funeral service.

"On Tuesday, the 15th, at nine o'clock in the morning, the crew of the *Belle Poule* will disembark the coffin, and place it upon the imperial car, which will have been placed the previous evening under the funeral temple erected upon the point of disembarkation.

"At the moment of the procession leaving Courbevoie the artillery will fire a salvo of twenty-one cannon shots.

"At the first shot the procession will commence its march. The line of march will be as follows:—By the bridge of Neuilly, the Neuilly road, the Arch of Triumph of l'Etoile, the Avenue de Neuilly, the Place de la Concorde, the bridge de la Concorde, the Quai d' Orsay, the Esplanade of the Invalides.

"During the whole of the passage of the funeral procession, cannon will be fired off every quarter of an hour, and a band of military music will execute funeral marches and symphonies.

"The line of troops will be formed from the bridge of Neuilly up to the Royal Hotel des Invalides by the battalions of the National Guards, and of the troops of the line, who are not employed in the funeral procession.

"Along the whole line the troops will render military honours, at the moment the funeral car passes.

"On the firing of the first gun by the detachment of artillery stationed at Neuilly, the procession will start in the following order:—The Gendarmerie of the Seine, with their trumpeters, and the colonel at the head; the Horse Municipal Guard, with standard and trumpets; two squadrons of the 7th Lancers, with standard and band; the Lieutenant-General Commandant of Paris and his staff, with whom will be the officers *en congé;* a battalion of infantry of the line, with colours, sappers, drummers, and band; the Foot Municipal Guard, with colours and drummers; the Sapeurs Pompiers, with colours and drummers; two squadrons of the 7th Lancers; two squadrons of the 5th Cuirassiers, with colours and band; the Lieutenant-General commanding the division, and his staff; the unattached officers of all corps who are at present employed in Paris at the Ministry of War and the depôt; the School of St. Cyr, with its staff; the Ecole Polytechnique, and its staff; the Ecole d' Application d' Etat Major, with its staff; a battalion of light infantry, with colours, sappers, and band; two battalions of artillery; the detachment of the 1st battalion of Foot Chasseurs; the seven companies of engineers of the Seine; the four companies of non-commissioned officers of the veterans; two squadrons of the 5th Cuirassiers; four squadrons of the Horse National Guard, with colours and band; the Marshal-Commander-in-chief of the National Guards, and his staff; the 2nd legion of the National Guard of the Banlieue; the 1st legion of the National Guard of Paris; two squadrons of the Horse National Guards; a carriage for the chaplain from St. Helena; the general officers of the army and navy of the reserved list, or in retirement, who may be in Paris, and who may present themselves in uniform, and on horseback; the general officers and others of the Royal Marines; funeral band; the war-horse; a platoon of thirty-four non-commissioned officers from the National Guard; infantry of the line, &c.; the Marshals of France; eighty-six non-commissioned officers, with the colours of the different departments under the order of a *chef d' Escadron;* the Prince de Joinville and his staff; the five hundred sailors who came over with the body of the Emperor, formed into two files, and marching by the side of the imperial car during the whole line of the procession; the funeral car, two marshals, an admiral, and Lieutenant-General Bertrand, on horseback, supporting the four corners of the pall; the old aide-de-camp, and civil and military officers of the household of the Emperor; the Prefects of the Seine and Police, the members of the Council General, the mayors and deputy mayors of Paris, and of the rural communes; the old soldiers of the Imperial Guard who may present themselves in uniform; the deputies of Ajaccio and soldiers in retirement, in uniform; the National Guard and troops of the line, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, who form the line, will immediately follow the procession, and then file off.

"As soon as the procession shall have passed the head of the 1st legion of the right line, the left of which will be at the bridge of Neuilly, this legion will form into a platoon to the right, and begin its march, the legion opposite to it, which, with the first of the left line, with its right at the bridge of Neuilly, will take up its rank in the column behind that of the right line, filing off to the right, to march towards the left. All the legions will file off in a similar way successively and alternately. This will also be the case with the regiments of the line, which will form the line from the Barriere de l'Etoile to the Invalides.

"As soon as the battery of artillery established at the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile shall have performed the salute of honour, it will form in column behind the legion or regiment immediately before it. The Procession will be closed from the Pont de Neuilly to the Invalides, as follows:—A squadron of the 1st Dragoons with the Lieutenant-Colonel; Lieutenant-General Schneider, commandant of the division employed upon the fortifications, and his staff; Major-General Hecquet, commanding the 4th brigade of infantry; a battalion of the 35th regiment of the

line; the two batteries of Neuilly; a battalion of the 35th of the line; Major-General de Lawcestine, commander of the brigade of cavalry at Paris; two squadrons of the 1st Dragoons, with colours and band, with their colonel at their head.

"The procession will continue its march by the Avenue de Neuilly and the Pont de la Concorde.

"The military *Gymnass Musicale* will perform military symphonies upon the Place des Invalides.

"The car will draw up before the principal entrance of the Royal Hotel des Invalides under a funeral portico.

"A salvo of twenty-one cannon will announce its arrival.

"The coffin, borne by the crew of the *Belle Poule*, will cross the first court of the hotel, pass under the gate of Louis XIV., and be deposited under a funeral porch erected before the great gate of the church.

"The horsemen bearing the eighty-six banners of the departments will take their positions to the right and the left before the great front of the hotel.

"Two amphitheatres, erected in the Royal court and the upper galleries, will receive the invalides, the old soldiers of the Imperial Guard who shall have made themselves known, and persons provided with tickets.

"Under the dome will be erected the catafalque.

"The King and Queen, and Princes and Princesses of the Royal family will be present at the ceremony.

"The interior of the dome will be occupied by the members of the Chambers of Peers, placed upon the tribunes erected on the right, and the members of the Chamber of Deputies placed upon those of the left.

"Other tribunes will be reserved for deputations from the different bodies of the state.

'The persons who wish to be present must arrive before eleven o'clock in the morning. After this hour no one will be allowed to enter but the persons who form a part of the procession, for whom places will be reserved.

"Carriages will draw up at the gate of the Boulangerie, on the Boulevard des Invalides, and persons on foot will enter by the great entrance.

"The clergy will enter by the gate of the garden of the chaplain of the Invalides.

"Ladies and gentlemen will only be admitted in deep mourning.

"Persons in uniform or official costume, will wear crape on their arms and on their swords.

"The coffin will be received under the funeral porch by the Archbishop of Paris and his clergy.

"After the sprinkling of the holy water, it will be borne by non-commissioned officers of the National Guards and of the line, to the entrance of the dome, where the King will be waiting to receive the body of the Emperor Napoleon, which will be presented to him by his Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville.

"The sword of the Emperor, placed upon the coffin, will be borne by Lieutenant General Prechaud.

"The coffin will then be raised into the catafalque. At the four corners will be seated the Marshals, Admirals, and Lieutenant-General Bertrand, who will hold the pall during the procession.

"The service will be performed by the Archbishop of Paris.

"The absolutions will be given by the Archbishop of Paris and by four Bishops during the *De Profundis.*

"A last salvo of twenty-one cannon shots will announce the end of the funeral service.

"During the ceremony the vessel which shall have served as the catafalque, and the other vessels of the funeral train, covered with mourning, will take up their position in the basin of the Seine before the Invalides, and fire a salvo every quarter of an hour.

"After the ceremony a guard of honour will be placed by the side of the catafalque.

"The next day, and the days following, the public will be admitted into the interior of the church of the Invalides.

The Prefect of Police issued the following ordinance, concerning the measures of order and public safety to be taken upon the Seine, on the occasion of the ceremony:—

Paris, Dec. 10.

"We, the Councillor of State, Prefect of Police, &c., considering the arrangements made by the Minister of the Interior for the transference of the mortal remains of the Emperor Napoleon, in virtue, &c., order as follows:—

Act 1.—The navigation upon the Seine shall be interrupted during the whole day of Monday, the 14th of December, from break of day until the following day, in the whole space between the bridge of Bezons and the bridge of St. Cloud.

"The vessels forming a part of the funeral procession shall alone be exempt from these regulations.

"2.—During the 13th, all boats or vessels of every kind upon the Seine, in the space pointed out by article 1, shall be fastened in fit places, under the direction of either the navigation agents or of the local authorities, in such a manner that they cannot be made use of, contrary to the orders contained in that act.

"3.—The Sous-Prefet of St. Denis, the mayors of the communes upon the banks of the Seine, between the bridge of Bezons and the bridge of St. Cloud, the Commander of the Gendarmerie, the engineers of the roads and bridges, and their conductors; the Inspector-General of the Navigation, and those under his orders, are directed to see to the execution of the present ordinance.

"The Councillor of State, Prefect of Police,

"G. DELESSERT."

Marshal Gerard issued an order of the day, directing the National Guards of Paris and the department of the Seine, with the detachments of troops of the garrison selected for that purpose, to be on the ground between Neuilly and the Invalides by nine o'clock on Tuesday morning. The National Guards were to line both sides of the road from the bridge at Neuilly to the Arc de Triomphe, and thence to be stationed along the southern side of the main avenue of the Champs Elysées and Place de la Concorde as far as the Esplanade of the Invalides, where they were again to form a double line. The troops of the garrison were to line the northern side of the main avenue of the Champs Elysées and Place de la Concorde, as far as the Esplanade of the Invalides.

The Grand Referendaire of the Chamber of Peers addressed a communication to the Peers, to inform them that the King intending to be present at the ceremony of the interment of the mortal remains of the Emperor Napoleon on the 15th, and being desirous of being surrounded by all the great bodies of the state, measures had been taken for the accommodation of the two Chambers, and that places were reserved for the

members of the Chamber of Peers. The Minister added that the Peers were requested to be present at the Invalides by eleven o'clock in the morning, in order to receive His Majesty.

The programme, it will be seen, indicates that the procession would make a grand halt at the Barriere de l'Etoile, beneath the imperishable monument raised by Napoleon himself. Let us proceed thither, and see what had been done to give the Emperor's remains a worthy reception.

ENTRANCE INTO PARIS.

The decorations round the Arc de l'Etoile, and on the top of that monument, presented certain features of grandeur, without being so carefully finished as might have been wished. We may, indeed, observe, that, though the decorations in general, all along the Champs Elysées, the Pont de la Concorde, and in the Esplanade of the Invalides, bore the marks of great haste in their execution, yet, from the very short time allowed by Government for their completion—only twelve days—and from a desire to spare the public purse as much as possible, the number and extent of the ornaments showed an activity truly wonderful. There is no doubt that the money voted by the Chambers will not cover the amount incurred for the expenses of this great solemnity. On the summit of the Arc was a lofty canvass with decorations representing Napoleon before his throne, surrounded by allegorical figures. Round the circular pavement encircling the Arch were placed lofty poles, bearing tri-coloured pennons. At the moment when the funeral car stopped for a short period under the archway itself, the effect was grand in the extreme.

THE CHAMPS ELYSEES.

The coup d'œil looking down the Champs Elysées, the entrance-barriers to which were removed, was calculated to be very striking; but, unfortunately the clouds of dust, and the smoke from the vases, burning blue flames, were so thick that it was impossible to see any distance. The lofty columns, surmounted by gilt eagles, and decorated with tri-coloured flags ; the colossal statues; the vases with the flames; and the countless multitudes that lined the walks on each side, made a scene which, in many points, was truly splendid, It was evident, however, that the suffering of many of the spectators, from the cold, was very intense. Some of the seats erected by speculators were very empty, owing to the enormous prices asked, and, no doubt, much less money was taken than was calculated.

ESPLANADE OF THE INVALIDES.

One of the most beautiful sights of the whole day was the Esplanade of the Invalides, just as the car entered it; the central road filled with troops and the procession; the long lines of statues of great monarchs and military commanders on either side, with the colossal figure of the Emperor at the edge of the quay; the immense estrades on each side containing at least 30,000 people, and behind them the numerous masts with tri-coloured streamers floating; all this formed a spectacle of great beauty and interest

and one which no one who witnessed it, particularly from the end towards the Invalides, can readily forget.

HOTEL DES INVALIDES.

After crossing the bridge it was ordered that the procession should turn to the right, and proceed along the Quai d'Orsay till it attained the Esplanade des Invalides, which leads, in a direct line, to the hotel itself. This splendid building is one of the most magnificent monuments of the reign of Louis XIV. As its name denotes, it is an hospital for the reception of old soldiers, officers as well as privates, and now contains from four to five thousand. The exterior is superb: the esplanade to the north extends to the Seine, and is furnished with an avenue of majestic trees. The facade of the building is of an imposing aspect, and the chief entrance is decorated with elaborate sculpture. The key-stone of the large arch represents a head of Hercules, in marble. The Church, which is at the extremity of the Cour Royale, is one of the finest structures in France. The lofty nave is supported by richly decorated pillars, and was in the time of Napoleon, ornamented with 3,000 standards taken from different nations. The colours captured at Algiers, now supply their place. The pulpit and the altar are adorned with the richest sculpture. At the end of the nave is the dome, which is supported by forty columns of the composite order, and is composed of three cupolas. Through the opening of the first arch may be seen a fine fresco, representing the Apotheosis of St. Louis. Between the windows of the dome are figures of the twelve apostles. The church is ornamented with numerous bas-reliefs, statues, and fresco paintings. The library, which now consists of 20,000 volumes, was founded by Napoleon. The church has, at all times, a splendid and unique effect; but, when the decorations ordered for this occasion were completed, it had the appearance of a palace, resplendent with gold and silver on a violet and black ground. Beneath the dome, round the whole extent, as high as the first order of architecture, was spread a drapery of violet velvet, studded all over with stars of gold, and bordered with a massy gold fringe. On the right and left, where stand the tombs of Vauban and Turenne, were raised platforms, with seats for the accommodation of the members of the Chambers of Peers and Deputies, and the corps diplomatique. At the bottom, and opposite to the grand entrance, was erected an altar for the religious part of the ceremony, to the right of which was a rich tribune for the King and Royal Family, elegantly hung with velvet and fringed with gold. At the side of this tribunal was another, decorated in the same way for the ladies of the Court; and opposite, one for the Ministers—the two latter were ornamented with velvet and fringe of silver. The three friezes which crown the attic, were hung around with a series of escutcheons, ornamented with gold and silver, representing, one the Imperial arms, and another the cipher N., surrounded with crowns of gold. These *entablemens* thus decorated form a triple line of lights. All these decorations were interwoven with garlands of laurel and crowns of *immortelles*. Beneath the windows which give light to the dome was placed an enormous eagle, with outstretched wings. The eight columns which support the dome, were completely covered with velvet, studded with bees in gold. On the spot where the tomb of Napoleon is to be erected was the catafalque, fifty feet

high, and composed of two frames ornamented with *bas-reliefs*. The first was decorated at each angle with a statue representing Victory, ten feet in height, one hand bearing a palm, the other resting on a shield. It was supported at the back by trophies, surmounted by an eagle, representing all the arms of the nations conquered by Napoleon. The second supported four columns of the Corinthian order, on which was placed the canopy of the catafalque, in form of a dome, and surmounted by an eagle spreading to the extent of ten feet. The whole was superbly gilded. Round the catafalque, in addition to a number of lustres, there were sixteen funeral urns, from whence issued flames of different colours. Before the entrance was a vast square chapel, supported by pillars, covered and decorated; on each of these pillars was written, in letters of gold, the names of the most distinguished of the generals of the empire, with the names of the battles in which they most distinguished themselves.

The general effect of the decorations was at once gorgeous and solemn, fully suited to the mingled ideas of imperial greatness and the nothingness of the remains, in honour of which the splendid preparations had been made. The profusion of richly-cut chandeliers bearing wax-tapers, which threw well-tempered light over the nave, its aisles, and galleries, and the immense number of much larger chandeliers, tapers, &c., which filled the interior of the dome with a blaze of dazzling rays, formed the first feature that struck the spectator on entering. Above the nave the dim roof, not lighted, and the flags waving in it like shadows of former glory to welcome the hero, who won the greatest part of them, were at once solemn and appropriate. The catafalque under the dome was one of the happiest efforts of decorative art we ever saw; and from its being all in white and gold, with its immense eagle above the canopy, was of striking grandeur. When all the persons who were allowed to pass into the church were assembled, previous to the entrance of the funeral procession, the scene was one of deep solemnity and great interest. Down the western side of the nave was a long line of the veteran inmates of the Hotel, which was prolonged by some of the troops from Africa, with their red caps, and by the municipal guards. On the eastern, or opposite side, the line was kept by the 10th legion of National Guards. Behind these were seats for certain public bodies and military officers, and behind these again rose the seats filling up the aisles. These aisles, as well as the galleries above, were hung with black, and the windows were carefully blocked up. Nearly all the company were in black, varied here and there by the uniform of some officers. Everything was in fact, in perfect keeping with the solemnity of the occasion.

The interior of the church was filled at an early hour by the persons who came in carriages, and were allowed to go in by the southern entrance. Those who went on foot, and entered by the gateway of the esplanade, found nearly all the seats occupied when they got in.

The edifice itself had undergone, in many parts, a complete though temporary transformation. The grand entrance by the Esplanade represented a triumphal arch, surmounted with Imperial emblems, and was richly hung with mourning draperies. The *Cour Royale*, which is entered by the elegant vestibule leading from this gate, was found prepared with seats at each side for the public, on a gradual elevation reaching to the top of the lower arcade. With the view, probably, of preserving the ornaments

of the building from probable damage by the scaffolding, as well as with the intention of rendering due honours to the solemnity, this portion of the edifice was entirely masked with temporary fronts, richly emblazoned with military trophies, the armorial bearings and initials of Napoleon, intersected with funeral wreaths and other ornaments characteristic of the ceremony of the day. The front of the church, on the south side, had been converted into the portico of a military temple, on which were seen seven statues of the most distinguished generals, in the wars of the empire, among whom was Marshal Soult. Twelve immense banners bearing warlike insignia, and each surmounted by the stars of the Legion of Honour, completed the splendid decorations of this court.

During ten days, and up to the 14th, Paris and its vicinity were enveloped in a dense fog; but, as if on purpose to give brilliancy to the spectacle, the sun made his appearance on the morning of the ceremony, and shone throughout the day. It has been truly remarked, that you scarcely meet with a Parisian who lived in the time of the empire, who does not, when speaking of Napoleon, add, "How fortunate he was in all his fêtes! It never rained on a fête day of the Emperor." His good fortune in this respect continued beyond the grave, for there never was a lovelier frosty day than the 15th, and a hundred times during the ceremony, did standers-by hear some remnant of the old army exclaim, in Napoleon's words at Friedland, "'Tis the sun of Austerlitz!" Long before day, the population was seen proceeding in the direction of the Barriere de l'Etoile, by which the *cortége* was to enter Paris. The greatest number, however, did not stop there, but pushed on to Neuilly, the avenue of which was in the course of a short time occupied by at least from 400,000 or 500,000 persons. The troops of the line and the National Guards soon afterwards arrived, and drew up on the ground allotted to each corps on both sides of the avenue.

The artillery which was to fire the salute on the landing of the coffin, having been delayed in its passage through the city, next came up, and galloped down the avenue, in order to make up for the time they had lost. The passage on the bridge of Neuilly having been interrupted at seven o'clock in the morning, the people could not accomplish their pilgrimage to Courbevoie. Between 2,000 and 3,000, however, got into boats, and crossed over to one of King Louis Philipe's islands, just opposite to Courbevoie, from which a good view of the ceremony of the landing of the remains could be had.

But let us take up two or three of the more prominent positions in the capital, and endeavour to observe what was passing at this time.

The morning was excessively cloudy, the thermometer (Fahrenheit) marking 22½ below zero, but notwithstanding this, long before day light all Paris was on the move.

The road and alleys of the Champs Elysées were all alive with earnest and anxious pedestrians on their way to Courbevoie.

Few soldiers were yet to be seen; but a company of pontoneers, or of the train, was stationed at the Rond Point; and the drums of the National

Guards were beating the *rappel* in every direction. The report of cannon from the Invalides also occasionally drew attention in that direction. At each side of the avenue, the sound of saws and hammers employed in the construction of stages for the accommodation of spectators was incessant, noise and bustle prevailed on every hand.

The Rue St. Honoré, and the different avenues leading to the Place de la Concorde, were already thronged by a dense crowd proceeding to the Champs Elysées and the vicinity; an immense portion, however, of the floating mass halted at the Place de la Concorde, as a convenient and appropriate place for witnessing the ceremony. At the above hour a strong detachment of the National Guards (infantry) entered the place close to the Rue Royale, and was shortly reinforced by a body of the Municipal Guards, stationed from distance to distance round this vast arena, to preserve order and prevent the crowd from injuring the statues, fountains, and public monuments which ornament this noble enclosure. The committee directing the funeral ceremony exercised a sound discretion, and, upon a principle of good taste, abstained from adding any surplus decoration to the Place de la Concorde, already sufficiently worthy to give passage to any public procession, and particularly to that of the hero who had originally planned to a certain extent its present splendid *coup d'œil.* Indeed, nothing can be more imposing than the view of this grand arena, no matter from what direction it is seen. All its cardinal points captivate the eye; to the north, the Chamber of Deputies, with its austere and legislative aspect; to the south, the church of the Madeline, so solemn and sublime; to the east, the Tuilleries, full of historical and royal reminiscences; to the west, the Champs Elysées and the triumphal arch, that noble and martial entrance for the reception of its renowned projector; and in the centre of all, the majestic obelisk. Strange to say, however, the Place de la Concorde, although so attractive, and capable of affording a good view to at least 100,000 individuals, did not contain more than half that number, no doubt from the wish on the part of the public of getting as near as possible to the starting point at Courbevoie, and probably with the view of catching a glimpse at various parts of the route. At an early hour all the terraces of the Tuilleries, facing the Place de la Concorde, were thronged by those who had been fortunate enough to obtain tickets and could sum up sufficient patience to sit or stand out several hours of intense cold. The balconies of the Hotel of the Minister of Marine and of the Municipal Guard were densely occupied by privileged spectators.

On looking across the Place de la Concorde from the Rue Royal, the eye became fixed upon the Pont de la Concorde, upon which the decorative talents of the committee seemed to have principally centred, with the view of rendering it one of the most conspicuous objects of this memorable ceremony. The two lofty columns at each end, surmounted by gilded eagles, and decorated with rich silk tri-coloured flags, the eight colossal statues, lately erected on each side, among which was one of War, exactly in front of that representing Prudence, a profusion of tri-coloured banners, a double file of National Guards, troops of the line, and municipal cavalry, the newly-finished facade of the Chamber of Deputies at the further end, and the splendid statue of Immortality on a pedestal in front—all combined to render this spot truly admirable. From this point, to the avenue leading up to the Invalides, an immense concourse of people had assembled

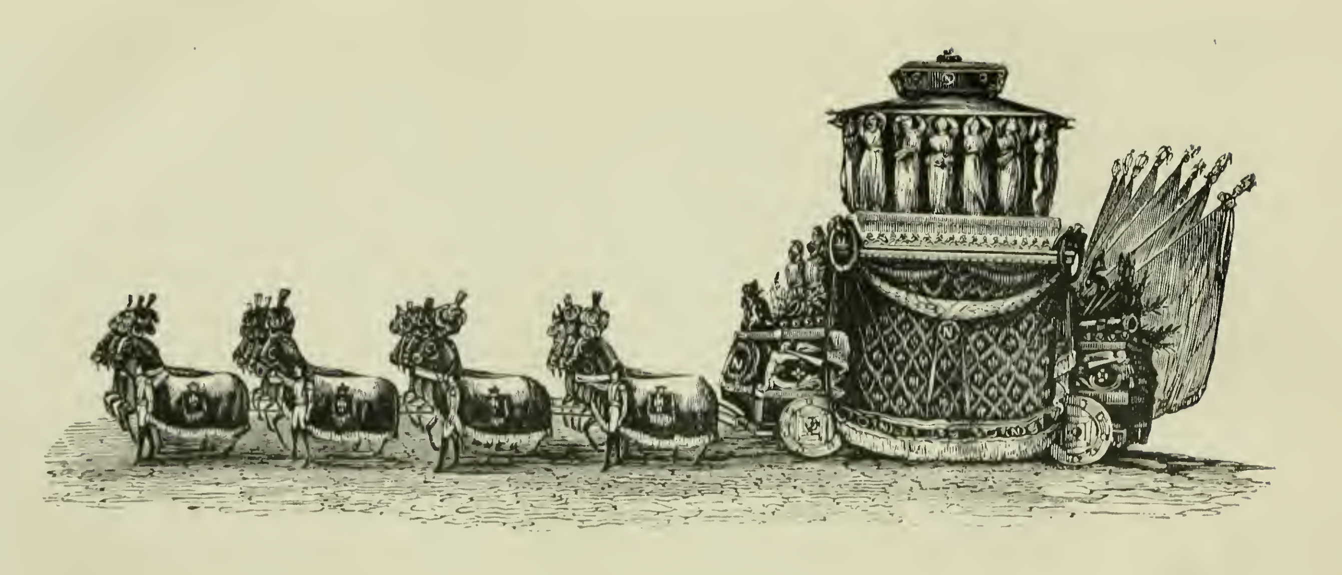
during the morning. A large *estrade*, tastefully fitted up, was erected in the garden of the Palais Bourbon, which was solely appropriated to those who had tickets from the President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Standing under the triumphal arch, and upon the bronze eagle which indicates that it is the centre, the sight was even as early as eight o'clock interesting. From Paris, by the Champs Elysèes and the Faubourg du Roule, and by the Roule de Charles X., from Passy, Anteuil, St. Cloud, Boulogne, &c., on the other side, swarms of people of all conditions rushed towards the Avenue de Neuilly—some to be present at the removal of the imperial remains from the steamer to the car destined to convey them to their last resting place. Gradually, the windows of the houses adjoining to the Rue Point de l'Etoile, the stages in front of or connected with them, the sloping bank on the south side of the road, and the walks and road became crowded, and then commenced the *industrie de circonstance*, for which the Parisian hawkers and pedlars are famous. Independently of barrows laden with *galteaux de nauterre*, and other cakes of indescribable qualities, all of them, however, saturated with lard, there were portable kitchens in full swing, getting up potatoes and sausages in such an inviting way, that ere noon they had all disappeared. There were, besides, lemonadiers, and, to the annoyance of the resident cafetiers, brandy-merchants. So far the creature comforts. Then came the intellectual large sheets—some coloured, some plain—with all manner of representations of the Emperor, ascending to or seated in heaven, surrounded by his old Guard, or emerging from his tomb at St. Helena, which were thrust before every passenger, and eagerly purchased. Another set of *marchands* sold you, for three sous each, gilt or plated medals, commemorative of the occasion, to which an *immortelle* was fastened by a piece of black riband. Others had *immortelles* of all colours, but mixed with black. These were earnestly sought after, in order to be worn at the button-hole. Lastly, a man drove a roaring trade with little knots of black crape, to be similarly borne, or for passing round the arm.

While this was going on without, the *restaurateurs*, so renowned (as each says he is), for the glories of the French kitchen, and wine, at six sous the bottle, were crowded to overflow. All the world was excited, busy, bustling, hurried, or otherwise occupied.

At nine o'clock two batteries of the 4th regiment of Artillery (that in which Napoleon made his *début*) took up a position to the right of the triumphal arch (looking from Paris), and immediately afterwards, their drums beating *au champ*, appeared the first National Guards, appointed to figure in the procession, or line the road from the Barriere de l'Etoile to the bridge of Neuilly. For two hours the passage was incessant, and all that time a continuous stream (ultimately a torrent) of pedestrians, poured in from the points already mentioned. This could not, however, last for ever. No more could make their way towards Courbevoie, so the new comers ranged themselves along the walks, many mounting into trees, and others huxtering for a chair or a stool, or a seat on a bench or table, accommodations provided by the *industriels*, to be found at every public assemblage in Paris. To render all complete, temporary *ambulances* (surgeries) were established (by order of the Minister of the Interior) for the reception of "accidents."

Marshal Gerard, attended by a numerous and brilliant staff, passed



THE FUNERAL CAR.

through the Champs Elysées in the direction of Neuilly, to take his station in the procession. The multitude continued to arrive in great numbers, and patiently awaited the signal gun which was to announce the setting out of the procession from Courbevoie. The persons who had fitted up seats on speculation did not appear to have been very successful, as numbers who had apprehended difficulty in seeing the procession found, that from the perfect order that was observed, pedestrians could obtain a nearer view than those seated at the windows of the adjoining houses.

Having so far described the preparations and appearances along the line of the procession, we must go back to Courbevoie.

THE FUNERAL CAR.

The *Dorade* had left her station in the centre of the river, and was moored near the *debarcadère*. The twenty-four seamen of the *Belle Poule* who were to carry the coffin ashore were standing on each side of the catafalque. The troops and National Guards of Courbevoie, Rueil, and other neighbouring districts lined the quays, and the artillery was drawn up close to the river side. The funeral triumphal car was seen shortly afterwards passing the bridge, and on reaching Courbevoie it was stationed under the portico of the Grecian Temple.

This car, which was truly magnificent, consisted of five distinct parts—1, the base; 2, the pedestal; 3, the caryatides; 4, the shield; and 5, the cenotaph.

The base rested on four massive gilt wheels; it was twenty-five feet long and six high, and presented the form of a parallelogram, with a semi-circular platform in front. On this stood a group of four genii, supporting the crown of Charlemagne; at the four angles were four other genii, in relievo, who held garlands with one hand, and with the other the trumpet of Fame; above were fasces; in the middle eagles, and the cipher of the Emperor surrounded with crowns. The base and its ornaments were covered with burnished gold.

The pedestal placed on this base was eighteen feet in length, by seven in height, and entirely covered with gold and purple cloth, with the cipher and arms of the Emperor. On both sides hung two velvet imperial mantles, sprinkled with bees. Behind was a profusion of flags.

On this pedestal stood fourteen caryatides, somewhat larger than life, entirely gilt over, and supporting with their heads and hands an immense shield. These caryatides were placed, six on one side, and six on the other, back to back, and two others at the extremities.

The shield was in gold, of an elongated oval form, and loaded with fasces of javelins.

The sarcophagus, of an antique form, was raised above the shield. In the centre, on a rich cushion, lay the ceptre, the hand of justice, and the Imperial crown, studded with jewels.

This monument of gold and velvet, above fifty feet high, was drawn by sixteen black horses, yoked by fours, and so caparisoned as only to show the extremity of the feet. The caparisons were cut in the shape of those of the tournament horses of the middle ages, and in gold cloth. The manes were adorned with gold tresses and white plumes, and valets, dressed in the livery of the Emperor, led the horses.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PROCESSION.

While the preparations for landing the coffin were making on shore, the people in the island struck up the "Marseillaise," some of the singers concluding each strophe by these words:—"*Qu'un sang impur venge notre Empereur;*" and others "*et de tout cœur, gloire à notre Empereur.*" When they had got through the national hymn, they gave three cheers for Napoleon, and as many curses for his enemies.

At half-past nine o'clock, the clergy of Courbevoie were seen descending the quay, and when it had reached *the Dorade,* prayers were read over the body. The Prince de Joinville then gave orders to land, when all the assistants, preceded by the clergy, went on shore, and the twenty-four seamen having raised the coffin on their shoulders followed the procession. The artillery fired a salute of twenty-one rounds, and the corpse was landed amidst the acclamations of the troops and the people. This was the first place where the remains touched the French ground. They were conveyed to the Grecian Temple, and after lying there in state for a short time, while M. Coquereau, the chaplain of the expedition, and the other clergymen, chanted prayers, the seamen again took up their precious load, and carried it to the triumphal car.

By this time the prefects of the Seine and of Police, the Mayors of the twelve municipal districts of Paris, and of the rural districts, the Conseillers de Prefecture, and the other civil authorities, arrived at the bridge of Neuilly to receive the body on the limits of the department.

While waiting for the departure of the *cortége* in the Avenue de Neuilly, a number of veterans of the old army, dressed in the uniform of the corps to which they had belonged, passed through the crowd, on their way to join the procession at the bridge. They were all but carried in triumph by the people, and, as most of them belonged to the Imperial Guard, they were saluted as they went along, by cries of "Vive la Vielle Garde!" The one who seemed to excite the most lively sympathy was an old chief of the squadron of the Mamelukes of the Imperial Guard, attired in the rich costume of that regiment, bearing on his breast the decoration of the Legion of Honour and of the Iron Crown. The people taking him for Roustan, the Mameluke of the Emperor, treated him with marks of the greatest respect, dividing as he walked down the avenue to let him pass, and taking off their hats. The Polish Lancers of the Guard were also loudly cheered with cries of "Vive la Polagne!"

THE PROCESSION.

It was eleven o'clock before the hearse left Courbevoie. It paused awhile near the statue of Josephine, after which the procession commenced its march, amidst the roaring of artillery, in accordance with the programme issued by the Minister of the Interior, (See page 31.)

The National Guards and troops of the line, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, stationed along the course of the procession, formed into line after the passage of the car, and closed the procession.

No description can give an adequate idea of the enthusiasm which this

ceremony excited. Every where on the passage of the hearse, the loudest acclamations resounded, and cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" rent the air, particularly when it reached the triumphal arch. The Prince de Joinville was well received, but not a cry of "Vive le Roi!" was uttered.

The medical and law students had sent a deputation to the Prefect on the 14th, praying to be allowed to join the *cortége* after the military schools. This request not being complied with, they determined on attending in a body, and actually formed a procession of their own. At eight o'clock, they assembled on the Place du Pantheon, about 2,000 in number, drew up four abreast, and marched through the city in that order, preceded by a tri-coloured flag covered with black crape. As they debouched from the Pont Royal, the guards of the Palace took alarm and turned out, but, perceiving that they moved on quietly, they allowed them to traverse the garden of the Tuilleries, where a buz more than ordinarily audible, that is, sufficiently loud to drown the ten thousand voices within earshot—announced an occurrence, or the approach of some formidable or important body; they were "the students." Their manner and bearing showed, that if they did not court a fray, it could not come amiss, and their possession of a flag, of which and its bearer they took especial care, was evidence not to be mistaken that they set interference at defiance, or were ready to repel it. It is possible that among the crowd which gazed upon them, there were some who sympathized with them, but no salutes or cheers marked their passage. On they went, however, gay but reckless, and proceeded towards Neuilly, where they formed behind the National Guards, and when the triumphal car came up, they followed the procession, still walking behind the National Guards.

From the moment the march commenced, until they reached the Place de la Concorde, they continued singing "La Marseillaise," and vociferated after each strophe cries of "Death to the English, and to the *Ministére l'Etranger.*" Their rage, however, was particularly directed against M. Guizot, whom they loaded with all sorts of imprecations and the most opprobrious epithets. A National Guard having attempted to wrest the banner from the hands of the bearer, was nigh paying with his life for his imprudence. Unsupported by his comrades, he was soon disarmed and knocked down, and finally taken by the four limbs and thrown into a ditch on the side of the road, by which means he escaped being trodden to death by the crowd. The students accompanied the procession as far as the Place de la Concorde, and then ascended the Rue Royale and the Boulevards, still singing the "Marseillaise," as far as the hotel of the Foreign office, where they vociferated cries of "Death to Guizot!" "Guizot à la Lanterne!" "Guizot à la Tamise!" "Mort au traitre de 1815!" "Vive Thiers!" etc.

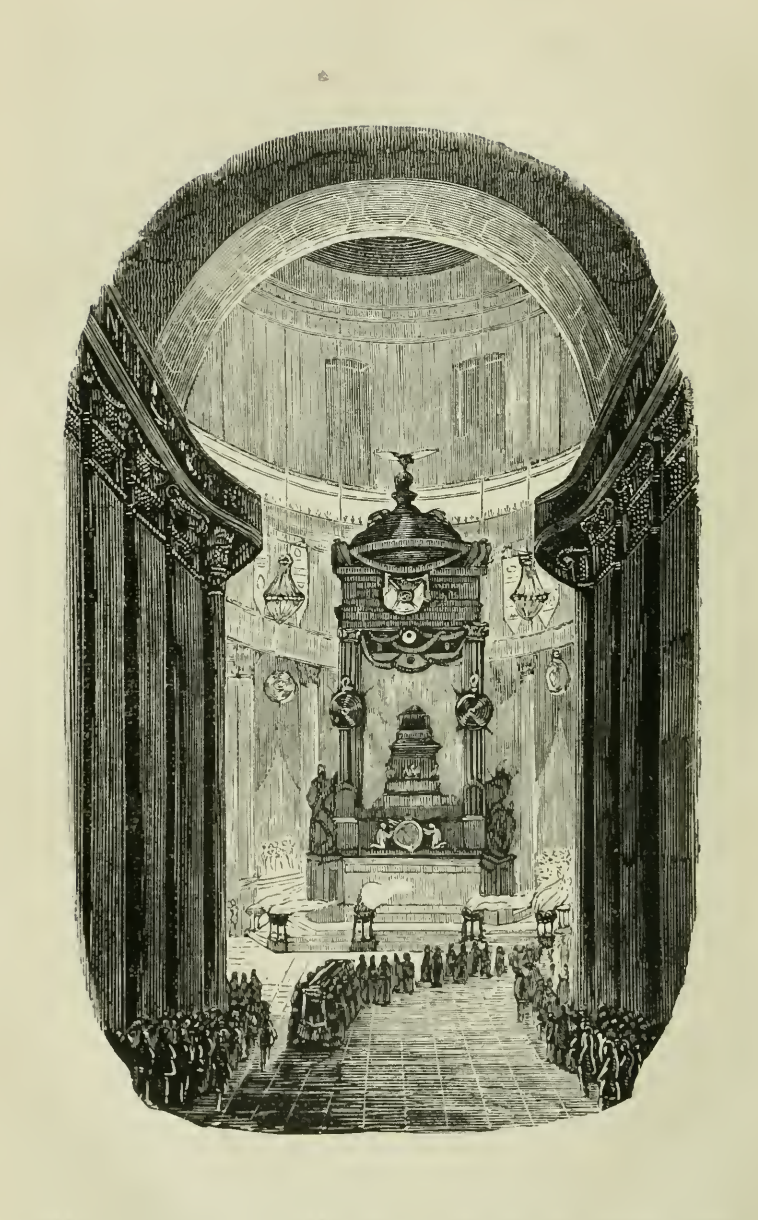
There was in the procession, however, a body of men, for whom, with all our recollections of the horrors in which they had borne a part, it was impossible not to feel the deepest interest. These were the remains of those armies named on the streamers or oriflammes before mentioned. Here were to be found on foot men of all grades, from the lieutenant-general, with his hat laced with gold, indicating that the wearer had commanded in a general engagement, to the simple soldier, and there was not a man of them who did not carry imprinted on his face an expression which seemed to say, "I was a soldier of the republic; I was on the Rhine

with the advanced guard; in Italy, in Egypt, in Germany, in Spain, or in Russia." Here were, in all their variety of uniform (some of them approaching to the grotesque, and others to the acme of military costume) the soldiers of Hoche and Marceau, of Moreau, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Lannes, Kilmaine, Davoust, Ney, Berthier, Laselle, Murat, Bernadotte, Bessières, Kleber, Kellerman, &c. Here were represented all "arms"—of the Imperial Guard, Horse Grenadiers, Cuirassiers, Dragoons, Lanciers, Hussars, Chasseurs, Grenadiers, Fusileers, Chasseur, *à pied,* Pontoneers, Marines, Guides, and even Mamelukes. Many of those veterans had, in addition to scars and cicatrices, other strong personal claims to interest; so that between the excitement of what had been seen and what was on the point of passing before the eyes, and the associations and recollections conjured up by the aspect of men whom the imagination almost pictured as called from the grave to figure for the moment in the pageant, the mind of the spectator yielded to them involuntary homage and respect.

Among the glorious *debris* of the Grand Army and of the old Guards there were many of those celebrated warriors, the Polish Lancers (of the Guard), who are also the survivors of the Polish Revolution of 1830 and 1831. For these, perhaps, above the rest, was this respectful sympathy entertained by the persons near to them, at least. There was also a chief d'escadron of the Mamelukes of the Guard, on whom every eye was turned. The general belief was that this individual was the favourite Mameluke of Napoleon, but he (Roustan) is, we believe, dead; at all events, his desertion of his Imperial master, as it was deemed, would have prevented his figuring to day among those whose presence proclaimed their undying attachment to him. There were also one or two of the Red Lancers of the Guard, a "guide" or two, and some others whose costumes contributed to render them conspicuous. Moreover, they tended to vary a scene which the monotonous red and blue of the National Guards and troops of the line had begun to render painful to the vision.

At length the car arrived, preceded by a charger magnificently caparisoned, and led by two servants of the deceased Emperor in state livery: shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" rent the air, and contrasted strongly with the cries of "A bas Guizot!" "A bas les Anglais!" and "A bas Palmerston!" raised by "the students," but which was not in any single instance responded to. This conduct is the more creditable to the city of Paris, as no fewer than half a million of its inhabitants were eye witnesses of the scene, and ear witnesses of the shouts uttered by this handful of young madmen.

About a quarter past twelve o'clock, the procession made its appearance in the Champs Elysées, and moved slowly forward, halting at intervals. The anxiety of the multitude was excited to the highest pitch, but when the funeral car appeared, it is impossible to describe the feelings of the beholders. Shouts of admiration spread through all ranks; some few raised their hats and cried "Vive l'Empereur!" but the majority seemed to have reserved all their applause for the car, which fully equalled in splendour any funeral car which has been seen, at least in modern times. As it passed through the Champs Elysées, a demure looking personage amongst the bystanders pointed to the Palais Elysée Bourbon, which appeared to be untenanted and guarded by a solitary sentinel, and observed that the ceremony might afford a salutary lesson to governors, and remind them of the little dependence to be placed on their most favoured courtiers, if



THE CATAFALQUE AND INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL OF THE INVALIDES.

they reflected that some of the most prominent performers in this great festival, got up for the purpose of doing honour to Napoleon's remains, were the most active twenty-five years ago, in forcing the living Napoleon to abdicate at the palais Elysée Bourbon, without even having secured his personal safety, compelling him to throw himself on the generosity of the King of England, who, though he might have treated the Emperor with unnecessary severity, had at least preserved him from the penalty which was inflicted upon his brothers in arms, Murat, Ney, and Labedoyere.

In the early part of the morning an undefined feeling of apprehension prevailed that an attempt would be made to disturb the order of the procession. This was not confined to the people alone, but appeared to have extended to the Government, for a very strong body of troops occupied the terrace of the Tuilleries' gardens, until the procession passed the Pont de la Concorde; every one present, however, seemed more inclined to enjoy the pageant than to trouble themselves with making any revolutionary display, and the procession passed through the Champs Elysées in the most perfect order, and although an immense multitude. returning from Neuilly with the funeral car pressed upon the persons who had taken their stations in the Champs Elysées, not a single accident occurred, even amongst the numerous urchins who had climbed the trees lining the grand avenue, and who afforded much amusement to the spectators, whilst awaiting the approach of the *cortége*.

Amongst the persons in the procession who attracted particular attention was Marshal Gerard, who was attended by a numerous and brilliant staff. Count Montalivet appeared in his costume of Peer of France, at the head of the cavalry of the National Guard, of which he is the Colonel. The Prince de Joinville and the crew of the frigate *La Belle Poule* were the objects of peculiar interest, and the eighty-six eagles, which represented the eighty-six departments of France, and which were carried before the funeral car, excited universal admiration. The Cuirassiers and troops of the line appeared to have been selected with great care, and the corps of Engineers, which was composed of smart, soldier-like men, was much noticed.

INTERIOR OF THE INVALIDES.

It was near two o'clock, when a signal seemed to be given, and the Archbishop of Paris, attended by other bishops, by his clergy, and by an immense body of priests, of all variety of Catholic pomp, entered the church of the Invalides, and advanced towards the nave; but it was a false signal, and they again retired. The candelabra, however, which were arranged along the nave, had been long lighted with their blue, red, and white flames, were beginning to burn dim. The crowd was evidently more impatient than reverend. The people began to turn to one another with faces of alarm, lest something should have happened, for the cannon had again and again given those within the chapel to understand that the body must be near at hand, when at last the entrance of the sailors who had borne the coffin, from the great gate of the first court of the Invalides to the second court, of the decorated non-commissioned officers of the National Guards and of the line, of the *Vielle Garde*, all that remained of it, that had accompanied the remains of their great master to his last home in France, of the deputation of Polish officers who had served in the cam-

paigns of Napoleon, all of whom had formed part of the procession, proclaimed that the body had arrived in the inner court. The Archbishop and his magnificent train of clergy again started, to meet the coffin and perform the rites of absolution at the entrance of the church; and after a delay of impatient but silent expectation, the funeral procession entered, headed by the train of priests. Before the coffin walked the Prince de Joinville, who had accompanied the body to its final destination.

Louis Philippe, surrounded by his great officers of state, stationed himself at the entrance of the dome to receive the body. There it was presented to him by the Prince de Joinville, who said—"Sire, I present to you the body of the Emperor Napoleon." The King replied, raising his voice, "I receive it in the name of France." General Athalin carried the sword of the Emperor upon a cushion, and gave it to Marshal Soult, who presented it to the King. His Majesty then addressed General Bertrand, and said, "General, I charge you to place this glorious sword of the Emperor upon his coffin." This the General then did. His Majesty next said, "General Gourgaud, place on the coffin the hat of the Emperor." The General did so, and the king returned to his seat, passing by the left of the catafalque and bowing to the Chamber of Deputies.

To see the coffin borne along the nave was a sight that set all the *mesquinene* of the painted theatrical show around at defiance. It was one of sentiment and not of show. As the coffin advanced, borne upon the shoulders of the thirty-two non-commissioned officers appointed for that purpose, accompanied at each end by General Bertrand and the Marshals who occupied each corner, covered with the funeral pall, with the Imperial crown reposing above, there was an evident thrill, an evident electric emotion, which pervaded the crowd that lined its passage. The old Invalides, who occupied the first rank, were deeply moved, as he whom they had for the most part obeyed with such fervour and enthusiasm in life, was borne along in death. Their emotion appeared to be one of pride and joy more than of grief. He was restored to them. The same sort of electric movement of feeling seemed to animate the mass of military men who lined one side of the dome as the coffin was slowly carried along up the steps that led to it from the nave. In a few minutes more it was being raised into the catafalque that occupied the middle of the dome, and the mortal remains of Napoleon reposed where his last wish was that they should repose, a wish which he thought in his dying moments to have been a vain one, in the heart of his own country, in the place worthy of France's greatest General, under the dome of the Invalides.

The mass then began. Mozart's *Requiem* was admirably performed; but, in spite of this admirable performance, in spite of the intrinsic worth of this beautiful composition, it did not seem to be a funeral mass appropriate to the occasion. It wanted that stamp of orginality which a nation's reverence to a national hero ought to have commanded. It was an occasion, surely, when a mass should have been composed to mark the event. Time enough there had been since the vote of the Chamber; but this opportunity of doing justice to so unique a ceremony, was lost. This was hastily done as everything else had been. The voices of Lablache, Tamburini, Duprez, Marie, Grisi, Persiani, Dorus Gras, Stolz, Barcollet, and other celebrated singers, made the music tell magnificently. The Requiem of Mozart could not, probably, be better performed.

At the conclusion of the mass, the sacred water was sprinkled upon the catafalque by the Archbishop, and then handed to some of the Marshals and older officers near, to go through the same rite, according to the observances of the Catholic funeral service.

It was long before the chapel was in any degree cleared. The crowd lingered still behind, and turned again and again to look at the *coup d'œil* of the burning wax-lights, the *chapelle ardente*, the illuminated catafalque and the long vista of funeral pomp, however mean it may have been in its minor details.

Thus ended a ceremony which, for the interest inspired by the occasion, for the extraordinary congregation of men whose actions for good or for evil have been celebrated throughout the world, and for its own intrinsic splendour, will probably long remain without a rival.

An interesting sight was the arrival of the venerable old Marechal Moncey, who had long since expressed his ardent wish that he might live to see this day. He is in a very infirm state, and they say had been nursing himself with great care, to be able to encounter the fatigue of being present to receive the remains of his beloved master. He arrived in a chair on wheels, and was with great difficulty lifted up the steps into the choir.

Immediately after the car passed through the Champs Elysées, the immense multitude which had been assembled there for so many hours retired slowly, and in perfect order, and the streets of Paris, which had presented a most deserted appearance until two o'clock in the afternoon, once more assumed their usual gaiety.

It would be almost impossible to calculate the number of persons assembled to witness this imposing ceremony, but it must have been equal, if not superior, to any assemblage of people collected in Paris in modern times.

The first and most earnest clause in the last solemn will of Napoleon has been thus fulfilled; his ashes now repose in the midst of the French people, and in the heart of that city which had witnessed his rise, his splendour, and his fall. His remains, after having lain for nearly twenty years in that "rock of the ocean" where he died a prisoner, have been brought back in triumph to France, and have been borne through the streets of the capital with all the pomp and magnificence which seem to accord so well with his dazzling and wonderful career. His life, his death, and this last magnificent celebration of his funeral obsequies, all stand without a parallel in the records of the past. His corpse has been received at the Invalides by all the public bodies of France, with Louis Philippe himself at their head; he has had the remnants of his shattered legions for mourners, 150,000 soldiers for his guard, and thousands of spectators from all parts of Europe to gaze on the last and most memorable of his triumphal processions.

This last spectacle was alone wanting to complete the series of scenes of which Paris has been the theatre and Napoleon the hero. He first entered its gates a poor boy of fifteen, without knowing within the whole circumference of its walls a single person to aid or assist him. With a burning heart he wandered through its streets, watching the rise and progress of the Revolution; saw with equal scorn the cowardice of the van-

quished and the savage excesses of the conquerors, and panted to assert over both that superiority of spirit with which he felt that nature had gifted him. Paris saw him depart for Toulon, and witnessed his return as a victor. Paris also witnessed his departure for Italy, and beheld him return, without attendants and in the dress of a private citizen, after a succession of the most brilliant campaigns on record. Paris witnessed his coronation at Notre Dame with all the pomp of one who claimed the title of "Emperor of the West." Three several times did Paris behold him set forth from her walls, confident of victory, at the head of the most brilliant armies which Europe has ever seen: and three times did Paris behold him return a fugitive, having been equally baffled, defeated and disgraced in Egypt, in Russia, and in Flanders. Paris saw him for the last time on the 28th of June, 1815, when his sceptre was shattered by his defeat at Waterloo, when, utterly dispirited by the desertion of those who had sworn fidelity to him, and sick with anxiety, fatigue, and the knowledge of the insurmountable difficulties of his situation, his haughty spirit forsook him, and he quitted his capital with a heavy heart, never to return to it alive. All the insignia of his rule were torn down by the mob, which hailed with enthusiasm the entrance of the allies, and overthrowing the statues of their favourite Emperor, dragged them through the mire of the streets. Paris has finally seen his ashes carried through her streets, in a procession of awful grandeur.

The *Cologne Gazette* makes the following remark, concerning the recurrence of the number 18, in several important dates of the History of Napoleon:—"On the 18th Brumaire, An 8, he accomplished the revolution, which secured him the Consulate. On the 18th of October, 1812, he fought the battle of Torutina, on the Boresina. On the 18th of October, 1813, he fought the battle of Leipsic. On the 18th of June, 1815, he lost the battle of Waterloo. On the 18th of October in the same year, the *Northumberland*, which transported him to St. Helena, came to an anchor at that Island. The depth of his grave was eighteen feet: and, finally, on the 18th of October, 1840, the *Belle Poule* sailed from that island with his remains."

THE FOLLOWING LETTER WAS SENT BY GENERAL MONTHOLON TO MARSHAL SOULT.

"Citadel of Ham, Dec. 1.

"Monsieur le Maréchal, * * * To accompany to their last abode the mortal remains of the Emperor, is a right which I would claim if I were free, and which I implore as a grace, now that I am a prisoner. I intreat you to accede to my respectful and pressing prayer. Deign to allow me to fulfil that pious and filial duty, and I pledge myself by oath that the same sentiment of honour and fidelity which led me to St. Helena, and bound me there while the Emperor lived, and which threw me on the coast of Boulogne, will induce me to return to the walls of Ham immediately after the funeral ceremony."

The veteran, however, was denied the gratification of this, probably his last, wish!

